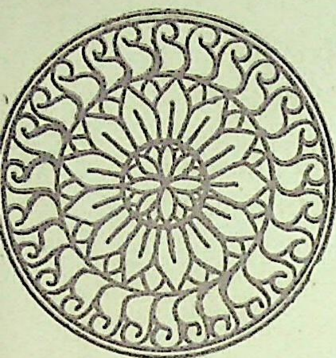
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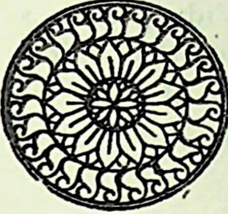
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The picture on the cover shows a lady writing love letter to her beloved
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NĀGARA DRĀVIḌA AND VESARA IN THE ŚILPARATNAṂ OF ŚRĪKUMĀRA *

LAL MANI DUBEY

Allahabad

There prevails utter confusion in Indian *Śilpaśāstra* on the problem of the genesis of the Nāgara, Drāviḍa and Vesara styles of temple architecture. According to the author, the concept of "*Sarvaṃ sarvadeśeṣu*", held in *Śilparatnaṃ* is corroborated by archaeological finds. The examples of Nāgara and Drāviḍa and those of Vesara are found in all the regions of the country and are not limited to northern or southern regions respectively. All these styles were evolved as a result of interaction of different artistic traditions and experiences possessing essentials of Indian art.

Utter confusion prevails in the scholarly attempts to understand Nāgara, Drāviḍa and Vesara denominations of temple styles found in the Indian śilpaśāstras. To some, all of them appear to be a characterisation of south Indian temple styles alone[1] while others try to see a rigid regional variations in them.[2] But a study of the extant temples and the monumental remains of the non-existent ones shows that they are hardly reduceable to any of the above patterns. The regionalisation of Nāgara and Drāviḍa respectively to nor-

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1. K. V. Soundara Rajan, *The Art of South India—Tamil Nadu and Kerala,* Sun Deep Prakashan, Delhi 1978 p. 52; M. A. Dhaky, *Indian Temple Forms,* Abhinav publications 1977, pp. 30-34; T. P. Bhattacharya, *The canons of Indian Art,* Calcutta, 1963, p. 158.

2. P. K. Acharya, *A Dictionary of Hindu Architecture,* pp. 308-309.

thern and southern India sometimes looks apparently cogent but Vesara is always a misfit and has been explained away in various ways.[3] The aim of the present paper is to show that all talks of regionalisation whether in terms of specific styles to specific regions or all the styles to one particular region are absurd and stand contradicted by known facts. It seeks to establish that all these styles have been marked by a sort of pervasiveness going beyond any geographical specification and were evolved as a result of interaction of different artistic traditions and experiences contributing to the essential unity of Indian art.

The concepts of Nāgara Drāviḍa and Vesara in the Śilparatnaṃ

According to the southern *śilpa* texts the building of the Nāgara are quadrangular from base to the top, those of Dravida style are octagonal from neck to the top, and those of the Vesara style are round from the neck to the top.[4] The *Śilparatnam*[5] follows the same concepts and defines Nāgara as quadrangular (*Yugāśra*) from the bottom to the *śikhara*, Drāviḍa as a temple with hexagonal (*Ṣaḍaśra*) or octagonal (*Vasvaśra*) *śikhara* and Vesara having circular (*Vṛtta*) or elliptical (*Vṛttātmaka*) *śikhara*.

Geographical distribution of Nāgara, Drāviḍa and Vesara in the Śilparatnaṃ

The south Indian *śilpa*[6] texts generally assign the Nāgara temples to the country from the Himalayas to the

3. A. Ghose, Preface, p. i. *Temples of the Pallavas* by K. R. Srinivasan, A.S.I. 1964.

4. K. R. Srinivasan, *Temples of South India*, National Book Trust of India, New Delhi. 1979 p. 88.

5. *Śilparatnaṃ* 15/51-52.

6. *Kāṃikāgama* XLIX, 1-2.

Vindhyas, Vesara from the Vindhyas to the riper Kṛṣṇā and Drāviḍa from Kṛṣṇā to Kanyākumārī. The *Śilparatnam*[7] also supports this view with the remark that Vesara is located between Agastya and Vindhya. At the same time, the *Śilparatnaṃ*[8] like the *Kaśyapaśilpa*[9] states that Drāviḍa is to be located between the Vindhyas and Kṛṣṇā while the Vesara between the Kṛṣṇā and Kanyākumārī. And above all, the *Śilparatnaṃ*[10] expresses the idea that all the styles are prevalent in all the regions—*'Sarvaṃ sarvadeśeṣu'*. This view of the *Śilparatnam* puts K. V. Soundara Rajan, M. A. Dhaky and T. P. Bhattacharya into difficulties when they opine that Nāgara, Drāviḍa and Vesara are coined and are appropriate mainly for south Indian temple forms of the Vimāna order.[11]

Factual Distribution of Nāgara, Drāviḍa and Vesara

The concept of *Sarvaṃ sarvadeśeṣu* enunciated in the *Śilparatnaṃ* may be substantiated archaeologically.

So far as Nāgara with a quadrangular *śikhara* as its essential mark is concerned, its examples both from the north as well as from the south are as following :—

Bhitargāon Temple (Kanpur U. P.—c. 500-550 A.D.), Pārvatī-Temple (Nachanakuthar—Nagod, M.P.—C-550-600 A.D.): Bodhagayā-Temple (Gaya—6th-7th Cent. A.D.); Nalanda Brick-Temple (Nalanda—6th-7th Cent. A.D.);

7. *Śilparatnaṃ* 16/43-44.

8. *Śilparatnaṃ* 16/47-49.

9. *Kāśyapaśilpa* xxv, 19-20.

10. *Śilparatnaṃ* 16/44.

11. K. V. Soundara Rajan, *ibid.*, p. 52, M. A. Dhaky, *ibid.*, pp. 30-34, T. P. Bhattacharya, *ibid.*, p. 158.

Draupadī Ratha (Mahabalipuram, Tamil Nadu—First half of the seventh cent. A.D.); Koranganātha-Temple (Srinivasanallur, Tiruchirappali—2nd half of the 9th cent. A.D.);Bhavanārāyaṇa-Temple (Bapatla, Guntur, Andhra Pradesh—2nd half of the 10th Cent. A.D.); Jain Temples of Pancakūṭa-Basti, (Kadambahally-Mysore—Early 9th Cent. A.D.); Lakundi Jain Temple (Dharwar-Mysore—c. 1000-1300 A.D.) Avantesvāmī Temple (Kashmir—9th Cent. A.D.); Śatruñjay-Hill Jain Temples (Kathiawad); Caumukha Temple of Ādinātha (Rangpur, Jodhpur—c. 1450 A.D.); Koṇārka-Sun Temple (Konark, Orissa—c. 13th Cent. A.D.).

The data catalogue of the Dravidian style is as under :—

Melagiti Śivālaya (Badami—c. 625 A.D.); Mahākūteśvara Temple (Badami—n. 600 A.D. Lakṣmaṇa Liṅgeśvara (Avani, Kolar, Mysore—9th-11th Cent. A.D.); Shore Temple (Mahabalipuram—718 A.D.); Dharmarāja and Arjuna Ratha (Mahabalipuram—First half of the 7th Cent. A.D.); Kadattil Appan-Temple (Peruvanam Trichur, Kerala—11th Cent. A.D.); Śrī Kūrmanāthaswāmī Temple (Srikakulam Andhra Pradesh—9th Cent. A.D.); Nau Maṭha near Kāmākhyā Temple[12] (Gauhati—18th Cent. A.D.); Kailāśanātha (Ellora—758-783 A.D.); Dattātreya Temple[13] (Bhaktapur Pujaharimath, Kathmandu, Nepal—First Millennium A.D.).

In the Vesara category again may be placed the following temples belonging to practically all the regions of the country :—

Chandrehe (Sidhi, M.P.—Late 10th Cent. A.D.): Telī-kā-mandir (Gwalior fort—c. 10'th Cent. A.D.); Vaithal

12. *Marg,* Edited by Mulk Raj Anand, Vol. xxiii, Dec. 1969, No. 1, fig. 89.

13. *East and West,* Editor-Giuseppe Tucci, New Series, Vol. 26, Nos. 1-2 March-June 1976, p. 191.

deul (Bhuvanesvara—9th Cent. A.D.); Deogarh Jain Temple (Deogarh—9th Cent. A.D.); Mukteśvara Temple (Kanchipuram—8th Cent. A.D.); Nakul, Sahadeva Ratha (Mahabalipuram—First half of the 7th Cent. A.D.); Kaileśvara Temple (Hemavali, Anantpur Distt.-Andhra Pradesh—850-1000 A.D.); Durgā Temple (Aihole—7th Cent. A.D.); Golden Temple (Amritsar—18th Cent. A.D.).

Nāgara, Drāviḍa and Vesara in Historical Perspective:

Having settled by the above illustration that the three styles of temple architecture transcend all regionalisation by virtue of their rebellious distribution, it is now in the fitness of things to enquire into their origin and evolution as architectural concepts.

The *Śilparatnaṃ* and all the known *śilpa* texts of southern India except the *Kāmikāgama*[14] are, unanimous on the point that Nāgara style is to be located in a region to the north of the *Vindhyas*. The writer of the *Śilparatnaṃ*[15] observes that the land between the Himalayas and the Vindhyas is *sātvika* in character and the Nāgara mode of style originated in the *sātvika* land itself. That the genesis of the Nāgara is to be attributed to the north is again repeated in the *Śilparatnaṃ*[16] in verse No. 50 in which it says that Nāgara is of *Bhūsura* origin (*Bhūsuro Jātyā*). The *Bhūsura* land is represented by the land between the Himalayas and the Vindhyas (*Himavadvindhyamadhyagaḥ*). Therefore, it is a Nāgara land (*Nāgarasya Smṛto Deśo*)[17] which was the cradle of the aforesaid architectural style.

14. M. A. Dhaky, *ibid.*, p. 49.

15. *Śilparatnaṃ* 16/45, also Verse 47.

16. *Śilparatnaṃ* 16/50.

17. *Śilparatnaṃ* 16/43.

The earliest definitive example—I say definite because I want to exclude the controversial ones—of a quadrangular *śikhara* is available from Bhitargaon[18] in the north and Draupadī Ratha in the south.[19] The date of northern specimen is put around sixth century A.D. while that of the southern is fixed about seventh century A.D.[20] This also shows that the belief of the writers of the *śilpaśāstras* in favour of the northern origin of the Nāgara was right. But probably the earliest quadrangular *śikhara* available to us is not coeval with the origin of the concept of *Nāgara-śikhara* for we get literary and representational evidence of this form of architecture earlier still. The testimony of all the *śilpaśāstras* does not go beyond fifth or sixth century A.D., yet Megasthanese,[21] a writer of the fourth century B.C. speaks of the existence of as many as five hundred and seventy towers in the defensive wall (*prākāra*) of the capital city of Candragupta Maurya. Although he is not specific regarding the shape and structural details of these towers, the very mention of them indicates the beginning of some spiral structure. The *Arthaśāstra*[22] a text of about the same period, tells us of the *Aṭṭālakas* (towers) to be compulsorily

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18. Krishna Deva, *Temples of North India,* National Book Trust of India, New Delhi, 1977, pp. 11-12.

19. K. R. Srinivasan, *Temples of South India,* New Delhi, 1979, pp. 83-84 ; also R. S. Gupta, *The Art and Architecture of Aihole,* Bombay 1967, pp. 51-54 and p. 11.

20. K. V. Soundara Rajan, *Indian Temple styles,* pp. 153 and 101-102.

21. Mc Crindle, *Megasthenese,* Fragments XXV.

22. *Arthaśāstra* (Jolly) ; Prakaraṇa 21, p. 33, also, U. N. Roy, *Studies In Indian History and Culture,* Vol. I, Lok Bharati publications, Allahabad, 1969, pp. 85-86.

erected on the city walls. From the testimony of Patañjali[23] also it is clear that structural towers (*Aṭṭālakas*) constituted integral parts of city walls of the *Śuṅga* age. So far as representational example of the quadrangular *śikhara* is concerned, we get one on Audambara coin[24] assigned to first century B.C. and another among the reliefs on one of the gateways of Sanchi,[25] a structure of about the same period. Representational depictions of the quadrangular *śikhara,* thus do not go beyond 1st century B.C. and are found exclusively from the north whereas the literary, though vague, notices of them go back to the fourth century B.C. again in the context of northern India. It therefore, settles the point that our *śilpaśāstras* were right when they proclaimed the northern origin of the concept of the Nāgara *śikhara*.

It is generally believed that Drāviḍa mode with its characteristic multi-storeyed structure and multisided (not less than six) *śikhara* originated in south India. Most of the *śilpācāryas* also hold that the Drāviḍa style originated in the south. The earliest extant example of this category of temple comes from Badami datable to the seventh century A.D. The claim for a still earlier date of Aihole *śikhara* is controversial.[26] No northern temple of this type can claim such an early date. Therefore, if we confine ourselves to the extant examples alone, the contention of some *śilpaśāstras* in favour of a southern origin of this style stands confirmed. But if we go beyond it in the domain of represen-

23. Patañjali, 4, 3, 66, also U. N. Roy, *ibid.*, p. 87.

24. A. K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, fig. 117.

25. Rowland Benjamin, *The Art and Architecture of India—Buddhist, Hindu and Jain,* edition 1956, pl. 26, East gate Sanchi, also see, Sanchi stūpa I, north gate eastern pillar.

26. K. R. Srinivasan, *ibid.*, pp. 126-127.

tational reproductions, the evidence at our disposal appears to reject this proposition of such *śilpaśāstras*. The earliest representational depiction of Drāviḍa temple which the south can claim comes from the Ghantasal relief[27] datable to c. 200 A.D. Matching this in date as well as in shape the Mathura relief[28] is there from northern India. But none of these is the earliest available representation of this type of architecture. The earliest example comes from among the reliefs of the gateways of Sanchi[29] assignable to c. 1st century B.C. One of these reliefs shows a hexagonal *śikhara* at the top of a building while others in the group show multi-storeyed structures without hexagonal *śikharas*. The beginning of hexagonal *śikhara* is thus traceable to its northern origin which must have taken place at about the 1st century B.C. if we are to decide the issue on the basis of the evidence at our disposal. But as the tradition of most of the *śilpaśāstras* stands contradicted, we may not be quite sure about the fullness of our evidence. It should therefore be left as an open question to be decided by further evidence if it is forthcoming in the near future, failing which we will have to hazard the hypothesis that the quadrangular and the hexagonal *śikharas* were not diametrically opposed to each other, one can easily be derived from the other. It is not unlikely, therefore, that the two styles originated simultaneously in the north but the hexagonal style was regionalised to the south because of its greater vogue there.

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27. U. P. Shah, p. 87, *Studies In Indian Temple Architecture*, edited by Promod Chandra.

28. U. P. Shah, *ibid.*

29. Eastern gate, Sanchi, Stupa I, North gate Eastern pillar, *op. cit.* also, plates of H. Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*, and Louis Federic, *Indian Temples and Sculpture*, Thames and Hudson, London, 1959.

It is interesting that the controversy about the southern or northern origin of the Drāviḍa style also existed as early as the 16th cent. A.D. when the *Śilparatnaṃ* was composed. The text quotes two dissimilar opinions of the Ācāryas of *Vāstuśāstra* regarding the origin of the Drāviḍa style. According to one school of thought the Drāviḍa mode is *Nṛpa* in character and the Drāviḍa land is *Rajas* in nature and hence the origin of the Drāviḍa is to be fixed in the Drāviḍa land itself and not else-where.[30] The other school holds that Drāviḍa cannot be confined to the south *(sarvadeśeṣu)*.[31]

The position of Vesara style in the *śilpaśāstras* is a little complicated. The *Śilparatnam* and all other south Indian *śilpaśāstras* mention Vesara as southern style of temple architecture. Of all the north Indian texts only the *Aparājita-pṛcchā*[32] refers to it, but as a style of northern temples. Vesara is also at times called a mixed style,[33] consisting of the features of the Nāgara and Drāviḍa and is supposed to be backed by the literal meaning of the word Vesara to this effect. The *Liṅga Purāṇa* and the *Suprabhedāgama* accidently refer to *Kesara* in place of Vesara and this has been taken by some scholars to denote a sub-style of the Nāgara temple.[34] This confusion in the texts has led to wild speculations regarding the origin of this style. We had tried to argue for a northern origin of this style too in our earlier paper submitted to this forum in the last Hyderabad session

30. *Śilparatnaṃ* 16/43.

31. *Śilparatnaṃ* 16/44.

32. *Aparājitapṛcchā* 229/1-2.

33. Kramrisch stella, *Hindu Temple*, Vol. I, p. 291, M. A. Dhany, *ibid.*, p. 24.

34. A. B. L. Awasthi, *Studies in Skanda Purāṇa*, pt. IV, *Brahmanical Art and Iconography*, Introduction and pp. 78-79.

on the basis of the availability of the remains of actual domical *śikhara* reconstructed by G. R. Sharma from the palace area excavations of Kausambi[35] assignable to 1st cent. A.D. We had not then talked of the representational depictions of the domical *śikhara* of a circular, apsidal or elliptical type which are supposed to add new dimension to our old discussion of the problem. Representational reliefs of the circular *śikhara* are available from one of the gateways of Sanchi[36] and Jagayyapeta both belonging to the first cent. B.C. An engraving of domical tower on the Audumbara coins is also found. This modifies our earlier contention of specifically northern origin of this style, though without spelling out the region of its origin clearly. The picture as it stands now speaks of simultaneous origin of the domical *śikharas* both in the north and the south. The author of the *Śilparatnaṃ*, also admits that the opinion about the origin of the Vesara was a divided one. Some[37] thinkers of the *Śilpaśāstra* maintained that it flourished in the land extending from Vindhyas to the river *Kṛṣṇā* while others believed that it emerged in the region extending from river Kṛṣṇā in the north to the Kanyākumārī in the south. A third opinion challenged both the views and favoured the pervasiveness of the style.[38] The version of the *Aparājitapṛcchā* regarding the northern origin of the Vesara style also confirms the traditional belief that Vesara was not limited to the south.

35. G. R. Sharma, *Kusan studies*, Allahabad, 1968, p. 63.
36. *Sanchi, op. cit.*
37. U. P. Shah, *ibid.*, pp. 84-85.
38. *Śilparatnaṃ* 16/44 ff.

THEORIES OF PAÑCA MAHĀBHŪTA AND TRIDOṢA AS DEPICTED IN TRIPIṬAKAS

DR. JYOTIR MITRA

Varanasi

The theory of Pañcamahābhūta forms a central point from which the Āyurvedic concepts of tridoṣa etc. evolve. The Buddhistic works also discuss the bhūtas and dhātus, their kinds, functioning, characteristics and the tridoṣa theory, while elucidating the process of creation and formation of the body.

The theory of Pañca-mahābhūta is an undisputed and unanimously accepted doctrine of Indian Philosophies, propounded after prolonged and critical observation of the characteristics and behaviour of the gross bhūtas, the properties of other physical objects and the correlation of the senses with the matter of the environment. It also stands for a classification of the substances on the basis of their generic property. It forms an axis round which the Āyurvedic concepts of Tridoṣa, embryonic development, body constitution and composition, restricted response of the sense organs, composition and action of the drugs, seasonal variations and their effect and five-fold classification of matter etc. revolve. Alike the other Indian philosophies, the Buddhist works also mention this theory in order to elucidate the process of creation and grossly formation of the body.

It is based on the hypothesis that there are only five sense organs so far developed in man and each sense organ has been designed in such a way that it embodies one particular bhūta in excess of other. That is why it responds to only our particular type of stimulus like śabda (sound),

sparśa (touch), rūpa (form or colour), rasa (taste) or gandha (smell). Hence, there should be only five respective source matter to impart these distinct stimuli and these very matter types are known as *bhūta*. In this way, all matter in this phenomenal universe can be classified in no more or no less than five kinds because there are at present only five senses developed through which the external world can be contacted.

Bhūta and Dhātu

Bhūta and dhātu, both the terms appear in Āyurvedic and Buddhist literature. Though they are different but in some context, they carry equal meaning. Generally the term bhūta[1] signifies *Ākāśa* (eather), Vāyu (air), Tejas (fire), Ap (water) and Pṛthvī (earth) while the dhātu comprises seven basic tissues of the body, i.e., rasa (chyle), rakta (blood), māṃsa (flesh), medas (adipose), asthi (bone), majjā (marrow) and śukra (semen).[2] Caraka puts the term *dhātu* in place of bhūta, while he defines the puruṣa with its three kinds responsible for diseases and treatment. He does not hesitate to include even consciousness (cetanā) in the ground of dhātu along with the aforesaid five bhūtas.[3] Th. Stcherbatsky, the well known Russian Buddhist philo-

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1. *C.S.*IV.I.27.
2. *C.S.*I.28.4; *A.H.*I.I.13.
3. *Khādayaś cetanā ṣaṣṭhā dhātavaḥ puruṣaḥ smṛtaḥ.*
Cetanādhāturapyekaḥ smṛtaḥ puruṣasañjñakaḥ.
Punaśca dhātubhedena caturviṃśatikaḥ smṛtaḥ
mano daśendriyāṇyarthāḥ prakṛtiścāṣṭadhātukī.
*C.S.*IV.I.16, 17.
and
Ṣaḍdhātujastu puruṣo rogāṣ ṣaḍdhātujastathā.
Rāśis ṣaḍdhātujo hyeṣa saṃkhyair ādaiḥ prakīrtitaḥ.
*C.S.*I.25.15

sopher, evidently opines that the term 'dhātu' has been borrowed in Buddhist literature from the Medical Science[4] and coincidently we are sure that our *Caraka* or *Agniveśa Saṃhitā* had been likely the original source from which the very word was borrowed. A bhūta has been defined as a substance bearing one of the five perceptible qualities by their respective senses. Being eternal, i.e. having no origin and no destruction, it comes into component factor of a substance and is thus called 'bhūta'.[5] Cakrapāṇi, annotating special meaning of dhātu, says that it is called dhātu because it bears the puruṣa (*puruṣadhāraṇād dhātavaḥ*).[6]

Our Buddhist works have freely and deliberately used both the terms—bhūta[7] and dhātu.[8] There is a minute difference between them. Playing a great role in the creation of the physical universe, as a material cause, the bhūtas are called Mahābhūtas. On the other hand, it is also suggested that the term 'bhūta' should be used only for their subtle form and the term 'mahābhūta' for their mixed or gross

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4. It may be noted that the number of component elements (tatvas) of the rudimentary body in Sāṃkhya is likewise eighteen. That the term "dhātu" has been borrowed from Medical Sciences, where it means the elements of the body, can hardly be doubted.

—*Central Conception of Buddhism*, p. 9, f.n. I.

5. (a) *Bāhyaikaikendriyaviśeṣaguṇavatvam bahir indriyagrāhyaviśeṣaguṇavatvam vā bhūtatvam.* ("Report on Pañcamahābhūta Seminar", p. 13).

(b) .... *guṇavat samavāyikāraṇatvam bhūtatvam.* (*Ibid.*, p. 60).

6. On *C.S.*IV.I.I.15.

7. *S.*III.101.; *M.*XXVIII.2.2.; *MP.*VIII.I.21-24, 26.

8. *D.I.*215; II.294; III.228; *S.I.*15; II.169 sq., 224; IV.175; 195; *A.*II.165; III.243; *M.*III.115; 140; X.10; *Vbh.* 14, 72.

form.[9] Buddhaghoṣa explains vividly the term bhūta with its various synonyms. Elucidating the same, he says that they are elements (dhātu) because of bearing (dhāraṇa) their own characteristics, because of grasping (ādāna) suffering and because of sorting out (ādhāna) suffering (see, Chapter XV) and because none of them is exempt from the characteristic of being elements. They are states (dhamma) owing to bearing (dhāraṇa) for the length of the moment appropriate to them. They are impermanent in the sense of liability to destruction, they are painful in the sense of causing terror, they are not self in the sense of having no core (of permanence and so on). Thus, there is unity of all since all are materially great primaries, elements, states, impermanent and so on.[10]

Buddhaghoṣa also explains the nomenclature of Mahābhūta. He states that all the dhātus are instances of material (rūpāṇi) because they do not exceed the characteristic of being molested (ruppana). They are great primaries (mahābhūtas) by reason of 'great manifestation' and so on. It means that these elements are called great primaries for the following reasons, viz. (a) manifestation of greatness (b) likeness of great creatures, (c) great maintenance, (d) great alteration and, (e) because they are great and because they are entities.[11]

9. D. S. Gaur and L. P. Gupta : in *I.J.H.S.*, Vol. V.No. I, p. 58.

10. *VM*.XI.104.

11. *Sabbā pi hi dhātuyo ruppanalakkhaṇam anatītattā rūpāni, mahantapātubhāvādīhi ti, etā hi dhātuyo, mahantapātubhāvato, mahābhūtasāmaññato, mahāparihārato, mahāvikārato, mahattā bhūtattā cā ti imehi kāraṇehi mahābhūtānī ti vuccanti.*

VM.XI.96.

Further, he very minutely observes the cause of naming in Mahābhūta and points out that because these dhātus are great having the entities; because they need great effort to discern them and entities (bhūta=become) because they are existent, thus they are great primaries (mahābhūta) and, therefore, they are mahābhūta because they are great (mahā) and possess entities (bhūta).[12]

Bhūta or dhātu and its enumeration :

Generally, the bhūtas or dhātus are mentioned four in number,[13] i.e. pathavī, āpo, tejo and vāyo. The *Majjhima*[14] *Nikāya* and *Millindapañho*[15] add okasa (Skt. Ākāśa) to above.

Kinds of dhātu :

The four dhātus have been detailed in fortytwo aspects. That is to say, the pathavī dhātu in 20 aspects, the āpo dhātu in 12, tejo dhātu in 4 and the vāyo dhātu in 6, and it may be explained followingly :[16]

1. *Pathavī dhātu* (*earth*):

   Hair, body, nails, teeth, skin, muscles, tendon and ligament, bone, bone-marrow, kidney, heart, liver, pancreas or diophragm (kilomaka), spleen, lungs, intestines, mesentery, abdomen, faeces and brain matter.

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12. *Mahattā bhūtattā cā ti, etāni hi mahāntāni, mahatā vāyāmena pariggahetabbatā, bhūtāni vijjamānattā ti mahattā bhūtattā ca mahābhūtāni. Evam sabbā pi etā dhātuyo mahantapātubhāvādīhi kāraṇehi mahābhūtāni*...*VM*.XI.103.

13. Refer to f.n. no. 10.

14. *Majjhima nikāya,* in two places, mentions okāso (ākāśa) along with Vijñāna, *M*.III.115, 140, XXVIII.2.2.

15. *MP*.VIII.I.21-24, 26.

16. *VM*.XI.38.

2. *Āpodhātu* (*water*) :

Bile, phlegm, pus, blood, sweat, fat, tears, spittle, snot, synovia, urine and grease.

3. *Tejodhātu* (*fire*) :

Whereby one is warmed, whereby one ages, whereby one burns up and whereby eaten, drunk, chewed and tested becomes completely digested.

4. *Vāyodhātu* (*air*) :

It motivates the material in six directions (east, west, north, south, upward and downward).

Responsibility of the bhūtas in formation of body :

Suśruta, showing the importance of five bhūtas, states that in foetal state, the *vāyu* divides it into limbs and other organs, the *tejas* or heat gives rise to the metabolism of the tissues; the *āpas* or water keeps it in a liquid state; the *pṛthvī* gives the shape and the *ākāśa* contributes its growth and development.[17] Buddhaghoṣa, almost putting the same view, says that *āpodhātu* or water is the mode of cohesion, being founded on *pathavī* or earth, maintained by *tejodhātu* or fire and distended by vāyo or air; makes body appropriately.[18]

Characteristics of the bhūtas :

According to Buddhaghoṣa, the earth element (*pathavī dhātu*) has the characteristic (*lakkhaṇa*) of hardness (*kakkhalattā*) and its function (rasa) is to act as foundation (*sampaṭicchannapaccupaṭṭhānā*). It is manifested as re-

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17. . . . *taṃ cetanāvasthitaṃ vāyurvibhajati, teja enaṃ pacati, āpaḥ kledayanti, pṛthvī saṃhanti, ākāśam vivardhayati.* S.S.III. 5.3.

18. *VM*.XI.89-92.

ceiving (*paccupaṭṭhānā*). The water element has the characteristic of trickling (*paggharaṇa*); its function is to intensify (*brūhana*). It is manifested as holding together (*sangaha*). The fire element has the characteristic of heat (*uṇhattā*) and its function is to mature (*paripācana*). It is manifested as a continued supply of softness (*maddavānuppadāna*). The air element has the characteristic of distending (*vitthambhana*) and its function is to cause motion (*samudīraṇa*). It is manifested as conveying.[19]

He, further, puts an exposition of the above characteristics found in the bhūtas. He states that hard (*Kakkhalam=Karkaśa*) is rigid (*thaddham*); harsh (*kharigatam=Khara*) is rough. The first is a word for the characteristic (*paṭhamam lakkhaṇavacanam*), while the second is a word for the mode (*dutiyam ākāravacanam*), for the Pathavī dhātu is characterized as hard (*pharusākārā hoti*).[20]

It flows (*appoti*), flows on (*pappoti*), to such and such a place as a state of streaming, thus it is water (*vissandanabhāvena tam tam ṭhānam appoti pappoti*). The watery (āpogata) is what is gone (gata), among such various kinds of water (āpo) as the kamma originated, and so on. What is that? It is what has the water dhātu's characteristic of cohesion (*Āpodhātuyā ābandhanalakkhaṇam*).[21]

Fire (tejo) is definable as heating (*tejanavasena tejo*). Whereby : by means of which Tejo dhātu, when excited, this body is warmed, becomes heated by the state of one-day fever (*Ekāhikajarādibhāvena*), and so on. Ages : whereby this body grows old, reaches the decline of the faculties, loss of strength, wrinkles, grayness, and so on. Burns up :

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19. *VM*.XI.93.

20. *VM*.XI.33, 35, 36.

21. *Ibid*.

whereby when excited, it causes this body to burn, and the person cries out I am burning! and longs for Ghṛta a hundred times washed and for gosisa sandalwood ointment, and for the breeze of a fan. And whereby what is eaten, drunk, chewed and tasted gets completely digested, whereby the boiled rice, etc., that is eaten, or the beverage etc., that is drunk, or the hard food consisting of flour biscuits (*piṭṭhakhajjakādi*), etc., that is chewed, the mango fruit, honey, molasses, etc., that is tasted, gets completely cooked, its juice, etc., extracted, is the meaning.[22]

Identification of Dhātus :

In this body what is stiffness or harshness is the Pathvī dhātu., what is cohesion or fluidity is the Āpo dhātu, what is maturing (ripening) or heat is the Tejo dhātu, what is distension or movement is the Vāyo dhātu.[23]

Definitions of the Dhātus :

It is earth because it is spread out (*Patthaṭattā pathavī*), it flows or it glides or it satisfies, thus it is water (*appoti āpiyati appāyatī*), it heats (*tejatī*)—thus it is Tejo or fire., it blows (*vāyatī*)—thus it is vāyo or air.[24]

The Medical School also describes the prominent signs or characteristics of every bhūtas. According to Caraka[25] and Bhāvamiśra[26] some specific qualities are attributed to

22. *Ibid.*
23. *VM*.XI.41.
24. *VM*.XI.87.
25. *Khara-drava-caloṣṇatvam Bhū-jalānila-tejasām.*
Ākāśasyapratīghāto dṛṣṭam liṅgam yathākramam.
*C.S.*IV.I.29.
26. *Laghurgurus tathā snigdho rūkṣastīkṣṇa iti kramāt.*
Nabho-bhū-vāri-vātānām vanherete guṇās smṛtāḥ.
Bhāvaprakāśa cited in *I.J.H.Ṣ.* vol. V., p. 58.

them, e.g., hardness (kharatva) and heaviness (gurutva) for pṛthvī; natural liquidity (sāmsiddhika dravatva), stickness (snigdhatva) and coldness (śītatva) for Ap; hotness (uṣṇatva) and radiancy (tīkṣṇatva) for tejas: mobility (calatva) and dryness (rukṣatva) for vāyu and lastly non-resistence (apratīghāta) and lightness (laghutva) for ākāśa.

Now, we shall deal the Mahābhūtas one by one with their details, *Ākāśa dhātu* :

The description of this dhātu is very meagre in Buddhist literature. Sometimes it has not been enumerated along the other four bhūtas. It is formless and pervasive and the four bhūtas possess it even.

It may be internal and external both. Whatever is ākāśa, spacious, is internal, referrable to an individual and derived therefrom such as the auditory and nasal openings, the door of the mouth and that by which one swallows what is munched, drunk, eaten and tested and where this remains or passes out of (the body) lower down, or whatever other thing is space, is called internal *Ākāśa dhātu*. Whatever is an internal and whatever is external, these are the Ākāśa dhātu. By means of perfect intuitive wisdom, it should be seen as it really is. Having seen this thus, as it really is by means of perfect intuitive wisdom, one should disregard the Ākāśa dhātu and cleanse his thought of the same.[27]

Ten and five qualities of Ākāśa :

The *Milindapañho* puts forth the ten and five qualities of the ākāśa mahābhūta in two contexts. The work, presenting the characteristics, states that ākāśa is neither born nor grows old (jīyati). It is an incompressible (*duppasaho*)

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27. *M*.II.62.

and cannot be carried off by the thieves. It rests on nothing (*anissito*) and is the sphere in which birds fly. It is infinite (*ananta*).[28] It further, sums up the above into five. That is to say that space (okāso) is everywhere impossible to grasp (sabbaso agāhyo). It is the familiar resort of ṛṣis, ascetics, gods and flocks of birds. Space inspires terror (*santasaniyo*) and is infinite, boundless, immeasurable (*ananto appamāno aparimeyyo*). Lastly, space does not hang on to anything, does not cling to anything, does not rest on anything and is not stopped by anything.[29]

Vāyu dhātu :

The vāyu dhātu may be internal and external both. Whatever is motion, wind, is internal, referable to an individual and derived therefrom, such as winds going upwards (*uddhangamā*), downwards (*adhogamā*), winds in the abdomen (*kucchisayā*), in the belly (*koṭṭhāsayā*), winds that shoot across the several limbs (*aṅgamaṅgānusārino*), in-breathing (*assāso*) and out-breathing (*passāso*), or whatever other thing is motion, wind is internal.[30]

If external vāyu dhātu is provoked, it motivates village, etc. and checks all the functions.[31] Caraka has vividly shown the causes and happening of external (loka) vāta.[32] The *Visuddhimagga* quotes the above context from *Majjhimanikāya* while it discusses the internal vāyu dhātu.[33]

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28. *MP*.IX.8.71.
29. *MP*.VII.3.26-30.
30. *M*.II.62; XXVIII.2.11.
31. *M*.XXVIII.2.12.
32. *C.S*.I. 12. The chapter 'Vātakalakalīya' presents the phenomenon at length.
33. *VM*.XI.31.

Buddhaghoṣa giving its etymological meaning explains it at length. Air (vāyo) is definable as blowing (*Vāyana-vasena Vāyo*). The airy (*vāyo gata*) is what is gone (*gata*) in the way already described, among the kinds of air. What is that? It is what has the characteristic of distention (*Vitthambhana=vistambhana*). Upgoing winds (forces) mounting upwards that cause the occurrence of vomiting, belching, and so on; downgoing winds (forces) descending downwards that expel excrement and urine. Winds in the belly, winds outside the bowels, winds inside the bowels. Winds that course through all limbs, winds that produce flexing, extending, etc. and distributed over the limbs and the whole body by means of the network of veins. In-breath: wind in the nostrils entering in. Out-breath: winds in the nostrils issuing out, asd here the first five are of fourfold origination. In-breath and out-breath are consciousness-originated.[34]

Five qualities of Vāyu:

The *Milindapañho* mentions the five qualities of the vāyu dhātu. Wind (vāyo) pervades the spaces in the woods and grooves in flowering time. It sets all the trees that grow upon the earth in agitation and bends them down. It blows through the sky and carries perfume along and lastly it has no abode or home to dwell in (*nirālayo aniketavāsī*).[35]

Tejodhātu:

The tejodhātu or heat element may be internal and external both. Whatever is heat, warmth, is internal, referable to an individual and derived therefrom, such as by

34. *VM*.XI.37.

35. *MP*.VII.3.16-20 cf. The same view is also expressed in the *Mahābhārata* (X.184.10-12).

whatever one is vitalised (*santappati*), by whatever one is consumed (*jīrīyatī*), by whatever one is burnt up (pariḍayhatī), and by whatever one has munched, drunk, eaten and tasted that is properly transformed (*asita-pīta-khāyita-sāyitam sammā pariṇāmam gacchatī*) in digestion, or whatever other thing is heat, warmth, is internal and is called the internal heat element (Tejo dhātu). Whatever is internal and whatever is external, just these are the Āpo dhātu. By means of perfect intuitive wisdom it should be seen of this as it really is, having seen it, one should disregard the Tejo dhātu and cleanse his thought of the same.[36] Buddhaghoṣa has quoted the same view from the *Majjhimanikāya*.[37]

Five qualities of tejodhātu :

The *Milindapañho* mentions the five qualities of tejodhātu. It states that fire or tejodhātu burns grass, sticks branches and leaves. It has neither pity nor mercy. It destroys the cold. Fire seeks no favour of any men and bears no ill-will to any man and makes heat for all and lastly it dispels darkness and makes the light appear.[38]

Ap dhātu :

The ap (āpo) dhātu or water may be internal and external both. Whatever is water fluid, is internal, referable to an individual and derived therefrom, that is to say : bile, phlegm, pus, blood, sweat, fat, tears, vasa, saliva, mucous (singhanikā), synovia (lasīkā) and urine or whatever other thing is liquid fluid is internal and it is called internal Āpo dhātu. Whatever is an internal liquid element and whatever is an external āpo dhātu, just these are the Āpodhātu.

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36. *M*.II.62; XXVIII.2.9.
37. *VM*.XI.31.
38. *MP*.VII.3.II-15.

By means of perfect intuitive wisdom it should be seen of this as it really is and should disregard the same and cleanse his thought of Āpodhātu.[39]

If external Āpodhātu is provoked, it flows out the villages, nigama, city, janapada and province. Water of ocean goes inside and outside.[40] Buddhaghoṣa[41] has quoted the same view from *Majjhimanikāya.*

Five qualities of Ap dhātu :

The *Milindapañho* mentions five qualities of water or Ap dhātu. It states that water is firmly fixed in pools, wells, etc., shakes not and in its ordinary state is not disturbed and is pure by nature (*sabhāva-parisuddho*). It is always of a refreshing nature (*sītala-sabhāvasanthita*) and makes the dirty clean. Water is desired of all men (*bahujanapatthito*) and it works no harm to anybody (*na kassaci ahitam upadahati*).[42]

Pṛthvī dhātu :

The pṛthvī (pathavī) dhātu is of two kinds alike the other dhātus, i.e. internal (ajjhattikā) and external (bahira). Whatever is hard (kakkhala) and solid (kharigata) is internal, referable to an individual and derived therefrom, that is to say: the hair of the head, the hair of the body, nails, teeth, skin, flesh, sinews, bone, bone-marrow, kidney, heart, liver, kloma (pleura), spleen (pihakam), lungs (papphasa), intestine, mesentry (antagunam), stomach, excrement, or whatever other thing is hard, solid, is internal and this is called internal dhātu of extension. Having seen it thus, as

39. *M.*II.62; XXVIII.2.7.
40. *M.*XXVIII.2.8.
41. *VM.*XI.31.
42. *MP.*VIII.3.6.10.

it really is, by means of perfect intuitive wisdom, one should disregard the dhātu of extension and cleanse his thought of the Pathavī dhātu.[43] Buddhaghoṣa has quoted the same view from *Majjhimanikāya*.[44]

Five qualities of Pṛthvī :

The *Milindapañho*, alike the other bhūtas, mentions the five qualities of pṛthvī (pathavī) dhātu. The pathavī dhātu possesses various types of smell. It has no adornment, no garlands but is suffused with the odour of itself. The pathavī dhātu is solid without holes or interstices, thick, dense and spreads itself out on every side (*nirantara acchidda asusira bahala ghana vittiṇṇa*). The pathavī is never weary, though it bears up the villages, towns, cities and countries, the trees, hills, rivers, ponds and lakes, the wild creatures and birds including the multitudes of men and women. Lastly, the earth is free alike from ill-will (*anunayapatighavippamutta*).[45]

Āyurvedic view of pañcabhautikatva of body components :

Caraka and Suśruta, both the Āyurvedic authorities, have shown the particular predominence of bhūtas in the body components. Whatever is predominently gross (sthūla), firm or static (sthira), solid (mūrtimat), heavy (guru), rough (khara), and hard (kaṭhina) part of the body, viz., nails, bones, teeth, flesh, skin, faeces, hair of the head, face and body, tendons as well as odour and the sense of smell, belongs to Pṛthvī bhūta. Whatever is predominently liquid (drava), diffusive (sara), sluggish (manda), viscous (snigdha), soft (mṛdu) and pasty (picchila), viz., body nutrient fluid (rasa), blood, fat, kapha or phlegm, pitta or bile, urine, sweat, etc., belongs to ap dhātu. Whatever in

43. *M*.II.62; XXVIII.2.3.

44. *VM*.XI.31.

45. *MP*.VII.III.I-5.

the body is of the nature of Pitta, heat and radiating lusture (bhā) as well as colour and complexion is referable to tejas dhātu. Whatever in the body is of the nature of inhalation and exhalation, opening and closing the eyes, contraction and extension, movement, impelling and holding, etc., as well as touch and the sense of touch are referable to vāyu. Whatever in the body is of the nature of porosity (vivikta), utterance and the channels that are gross and minute, as well as sound and the sense of hearing, are referable to ākāśa dhātu[46] Cakrapāṇi and Dalhaṇa in their respective commentaries, have analysed the dhātus (rasa, rakta, etc.), upadhātus (milk, menses, etc.) and malas (waste products) on the basis of pañcabhūtas. They make some interesting observation in the composition of the above, i.e. Blood (rakta) according to compendia belongs to Ap dhātu but these commentators add tejas to it, medas is formed by the predominence of pṛthvī and ap; and bone (asthi) has also its origin from vāyu also including pṛthvī and the same is with urine where tejas dhātu is also involved in with the ap dhātu. Menses and milk belong to tejas and ap dhātu respectively.[47]

There is quite resemblance of the subject between Āyurvedic and Buddhist works.

Tridoṣa Theory :

The Buddhist works are unequivocally familiar with the Tridoṣa theory which is a fundamental of Āyurveda. The natural properties of Vāta, Pitta and Śleṣman are not seen in any works of the Tripiṭaka literature but their pathological states are invariably dealt with. Death is considered

46. *C.S.*IV.7.16 cf. *S.S.*III.I.18.

47. The *Bhānumatī* Commentary on *W.S.*I.15.8 and Dalhaṇa's 'nibandhasaṅgraha commentary' (on *S.S.*I.15.10) quotes the verses related to it.

due to provocation of vāta, pitta and śleṣman (*semha*).[48] According to Lord Buddha, these doṣas are responsible for suffering and happiness both in abnormal and normal states. He has also recognised the union of three doṣas (*sannipatikāni*) responsible for that.[49]

Causes responsible to provoke the Vāta, Pitta and Kapha :

When Vāta is provoked, it is so due to one of the ten reasons : either by cold or by heat or by hunger or by thirst or by over-eating or by standing too long or by over-exertion or by walking too fast or by medical treatment or as the result of Karma.[50]

When Pitta is provoked, it is so by cold, or by heat or by improper food (*visamabhojanena*).[51]

When the Kapha (*semham*) is provoked it is so by cold, or by heat or by improper food (*annapānena*).[52]

Review of the doṣas from medical point of view :

These doṣas keep the body healthy in equilibrium stage but when disequilibrium appears, it tends to rise the disease. Caraka[53] has indicated three stages of the doṣas as sancaya (accumulation), prakopa (provocation) and praśamana (allayment). While Suśruta[54] describes six and they are sancaya, prakopa (Provocation), prasāra (spread), sthānasaṃśraya (location), vyakti (manifestation) and bheda (appearance). And these stages are responsible for producing the diseases. So far as provocation of the doṣas are concerned, they are vividly discussed in *Suśruta Saṃhitā* (I.21.19.23).

48. *VM*.VIII.26.
49. *S*.XXXVI.II.3.21
50. *MP*.IV.62.
51. *Ibid.;* II.
52. *Ibid.*
53. *C.S*.I.17.114.
54. *S.S*.I.21.18-39.

KĀLIDĀSA AND RĀMAKATHĀ

(A Historical-approach)

Bimal Chand Shukla

Allahabad

In *Raghuvaṃśa,* the non-mentioning of Guha's friendship with Rāma, the Sabarī episode, and the mentioning of Śambūka's story and Rāma's observance of the order of meeting with the persons after his return to Ayodhyā are meaningful and indicative of the personality and the time of its author. Kālidāsa was Śaivite and advocate of *Varṇāśrama* system and the Brahmanic Supremacy. In this article, it has been attempted to prove that Kālidāsa was the court-poet of some Vākāṭaka ruler.

The works of Kālidāsa undoubtedly prove the excellence of poetic-genius and the wide-knowledge of the poet. The *Raghuvaṃśa* is the greatest of Kālidāsa's Kāvyas. This work fully justifies the poetic-maturity of Kālidāsa on one hand and also supplies the important and marked evidences to understand the time and personality of the poet. Various theories have been propounded regarding the source material of *Raghuvaṃśa*. It has been suggested by some scholars that Kālidāsa derived the theme of his work from the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki.[1] The validity of this view has been questioned by others. C. Kunhan Raja writes 'Not only I find difficulty in accepting that Rāma was a great hero to Kālidāsa, I have also a very great difficulty in believing that Kālidāsa

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1. **Father Kamil Bulcke, *Rāmakathā Kā Udbhava Aur Vikāsa,* Hindi Parishad, Prayag 1971, p. 186.**

had known the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki.[2] His theory is based upon the assumption that Kālidāsa had written only the first eight cantos of the *Raghuvaṃśa* and rest of them describing the account of Rāma and his successors were interpolated at a later stage.[3] Now, scholars do believe in this theory.[4] Ramchandra Shastri[5] and K. R. Shastri are of the opinion that Kālidāsa has borrowed the theme of *Raghuvaṃśa* from the *Padmapurāṇa*. Though some parallel verses are found in both the works, *Padma-purāṇa* being a later work,[7] may not be considered as the source of *Raghuvaṃśa*. Contrary to this, Keith has opined that *Padmapurāṇa* itself owes very much to Kālidāsa.[8] On the basis of a few motifs of Kālidāsa occurring in the Buddhist literature, V. S. Agrawal contends that Kālidāsa perhaps borrowed from the Buddhist Sanskrit literature.[9] It is true that Kālidāsa was aware of the various attempts at describing the kings of Solar race;

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2. *P. V. Kane Volume*, Poona 1941, p. 357.

3. C. Kunhan Raja—*Studies in Kālidāsa*, Annals of Oriental Research, Madras, 1941, Vol. VI. p. 2.

4. Lakshminaraina, "Did Kālidāsa write only the first eight cantos of Raghuvaṃśa"? *Poona Orientalist*, Poona, 1944, Vol. 8. Pt. 3.4, 188 ff.

5. *Sarasvatī*, Vol. 1, Pt. 2, No. 2, p. 98.

6. *Sārasvatī Suśamā*, Varanasi, 2018, Vol. 15, Pt. 3-4, p. 13-22.

7. R. C. Hazara, *Studies in the Purāṇic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs*, Motilal Banarasidas. 1975, p. 107—126. Hazara is of the opinion that *Padmapurāṇa* was composed after 650 A.D. Kālidāsa was well known as a poet before this date as he is mentioned in the Aihole—inscription of 634 A.D.

8. A. B. Keith, *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature*.

9. V. S. Agrawal, "Kālidāsa and Sanskrit Buddhist Literature", *Journal of U. P. Historical Society*, Vol. XXIII, Pt. 1—2, p. 189—195.

what he is doing is to collect and present it in the form of a string :

अथवा कृत्वाग्द्वारे वंशेऽस्मिन् पूर्वसूरिभिः ।
मणौ वज्रसमुत्कीर्णे सूत्रस्येवास्ति मे गतिः ॥

(*Raghuvaṃśa* 1-4)

We are not inclined to examine here the various theories propounded so far about the sources of Kālidāsa. But it is not unreasonable to take the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Vālmīki as the main source of Kālidāsa's Rāmakathā. Although Kālidāsa differs with Vālmīki at several places, this does not prove the non-familiarity of Kālidāsa with *Rāmāyaṇa*.[10] The changes in Kālidāsa's Rāmakathā are the outcome of the time and set-up of the poet and of his personality. The present paper aims at a close-study of these changes which may help to some-extent in ascertaining the time and personal attitude of the great poet.

In the *Rāmāyaṇa,* Vālmīki has glorified the character of Niṣāda-Guha who belongs to the lower strata of the society. According to Vālmīki, Guha was a dear friend of Rāma like the latter's soul. As soon as Guha, the king of the Niṣādas came in view, Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa flew towards him and Rāma pressed his arms around him :

तत्र राजा गुहो नाम रामस्यात्मसमः सखा ।
निषादजात्यो बलवान् स्थपतिश्चेतिविश्रुतः ॥
ततो निषादाधिपतिं दृष्ट्वा दूरादुपस्थितम् ।
सह सौमित्रिणा रामः समागच्छद् गुहेन सः ॥
भुजाभ्यां साधुवृत्ताभ्यां पीडयन् वाक्यमब्रवीत् ।

(*Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa,* Ayodhyā—50-33, 35, 42).

Kālidāsa has not mentioned the friendship and intimacy of Guha with Rāma. He has referred the name of Guha

10. See, *Raghuvaṃśa,* 15—32—37. Kālidāsa has mentioned the name of Vālmīki. See *Raghu.,* 15—64.

at one place[11] in the context of Rāma's return to Ayodhyā after the victory over Laṅkā. Rāma says to Sītā—'Here is the town of the lord of the Niṣādas in which, when I tied my matted hair, having first put aside the crown, Sumantra began to weep exclaiming, O Kaikeyī, your desires have been fulfilled'.

पुरं निषादाधिपतेरिदं तद्यस्मिन् मया मौलिमणिं विहाय ।
जटासु बद्धास्वरुदत्सुमन्त्रः कैकेयि ! कामाः फलितास्तवेति ।।

(*Raghuvaṃśa,* 13—59)

It is clear that Kālidāsa had a pathetic attitude to Niṣāda Guha.

Further more, Kālidāsa nowhere mentions the famous episode of Rāma's female devotee Śabarī of Bhīla lineage. Contrary to Kālidāsa, Vālmīki has devoted one full canto to 'Śabarī'. Vālmīki says that Śabarī was honoured by the saints :

रामेण तापसी पृष्टा सा सिद्धा सिद्धसम्मता ।
तामुवाच ततो रामः श्रमणीं धर्मसंस्थिताम् ।

(*Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa,* Araṇya, 75—10, 31)

Kālidāsa had no sympathy to these two famous characters of Rāmakathā. It is noteworthy, that these two belong to the lower strata of the society.[12] Why has Kālidāsa not described these characters? Three possibilities may be raised to answer the above question. Firstly, Kālidāsa has borrowed his Rāmakathā from *Rāmopākhyāna*[13] of the *Mahābhārata,* and not from the *Rāmāyaṇa,* because Niṣāda Guha and Śabarī are not described in *Rāmopākhyāna.*

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11. *Raghuvaṃśa,* 13—59.
12. The Niṣāda and Bhīla tribes were regarded as untouchables
13. *Mahābhārata* (Poona 1971) *Vanaparva,* 258—88 chs.

Secondly, Kālidāsa has recounted the widely known Rāmakathā in an abridged way, therefore it was not easy and necessary for him to refer all the episodes. Thirdly, Kālidāsa has disguised the episodes of Guha and Śabarī purposely. Kālidāsa was much impressed with Varṇāśrama-system of his time. It is, because he has not preferred to take the persons of lower strata of the society as befriending with Kṣatriya Rāma. The first possibility is not acceptable as Kālidāsa has mentioned the episodes of Paraśurāma,[14] Śaṃbūka[15] and Jayanta[16] which are not known to the author of *Rāmopākhyāna*. The exile of Sītā referred to by Kālidāsa,[17] also does not occur in *Rāmopākhyāna*. Second possibility seems also usreasonable. Kālidāsa has narrated the episodes of Śambūka and Jayanta who were not concerned deeply with the story of Rāma as Niṣāda Guha and Śabarī were. Jayanta-episode never took prominence after Vālmīki and Kālidāsa. Third, seems to be more weighty. Kālidāsa has expressed his views at several places about Varṇāśrama system. He repeatedly says that King's main duty is to protect Varṇāśrama system.[18] He was anxious for non-voilation of the rules of different castes and the stages of life. One instance may be cited here to explain the view of Kālidāsa. After the exile, Sītā was much frightend with the dreadful atmosphere of the dense forest. She wanted protection from this fear. Even with the pre-

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14. *Raghuvaṃśa,* 11.40–70.

15. *Ibid.,* 15.50–53.

16. *Ibid.,* 12.22–23.

17. *Ibid.,* 14.1–86.

18. *Raghuvaṃśa,* 15–53, 15–47, 48–49; also B. S. Upadhyaya, *India in Kālidāsa,* (Hindi Tr.) Varanasi 1963, Col. 1 p. 287.

text of the protection of Sītā Kālidāsa has reminded the duty of king as laid down by Manu:

नृपस्यवर्णाश्रमपालनं यत्स एव धर्मो मनुना प्रणीत:।
निर्वासिताप्येवमतस्त्वयाऽहं तपस्विसामान्यमवेक्षणीया ।।

(*Raghuvaṃśa*, 74—67)

This view of Kālidāsa is further confirmed by the episode of Śambūka. Kālidāsa has described this episode on the basis of the Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa. Śambūka a person of the lower caste was performing austerity which was not supposed to perform, because that would cause the calamity to the people. So Rāma took the weapon that caused his head to be seperated from his stalk-like throat. Śūdra Śambūka, after getting the punishment of death by the king himself, obtained the position of a virtuous, which he could not have secured by his severe austerity as it was in voilation of the rules of caste :[19]

तपस्यनधिकारित्वात्प्रजानां तमघावहम् ।
शीर्षच्छेद्यं परिच्छिद्य नियन्ता शस्त्रमाददे ।।

(*Raghuvaṃśa* 15—51)

कृतदण्डः स्वयं राज्ञा लेभे शूद्रः सतां गतिम् ।
तपसा दुश्चरणापि न स्वमार्गविलङ्घिना ।।

(*Raghuvaṃśa* 15—53)

Rāmakathā of Kālidāsa throws some light on the Brāhmaṇa-superemacy in the age of the great poet. Kālidāsa has used a peculiar simile at describing the breaking of the bow of Śiva. Kālidāsa says "The bow while breaking on account of its being drawn too much by him (Rāma) and therefore producing a noise as shrill as the crash of a thun-

19. B. S. Upadhyaya, *op. cit.*, p. 287.

derbolt as it were proclaimed to Bhārgava of inveterate hatred that the Kṣatriya race had again rise up:

भज्यमानमतिमात्रकर्षणात् तेन वज्रपरुषस्वनं धनुः।
भार्गवाय दृढमन्यवे पुनः क्षत्रमुद्यतमिव न्यवेदयत्॥

(*Raghuvaṃśa* 11—46)

At another place the same attitude of Kālidāsa is reflected. The poet describes some portents at the return of Rāma to Ayodhyā after his marriage. The poet states—"Resorting to the quarter, which the sun had occupied, the female Jackals began to howl terribly, urging as it were the son of Bhṛgu who was accustomed to worship the manes of his father by means of the blood of the Kṣatriyas":

भास्करश्च दिशमध्युवास यां तां श्रितः प्रतिभयं ववासिरे।
क्षत्रशोणितपितृक्रियोचितं चोदयन्त्य इव भार्गवं शिवाः॥

(*Raghuvaṃśa* 11—61)

Kālidāsa wants to establish the Brāhmaṇa's supremacy as it is clear from the above illustrations. After Rāma's victory over Laṅkā the poet describes his return to Ayodhyā. According to Kālidāsa 'Rāma comes to his Guru Vaśiṣṭha first, then to Bharat and his mothers.[20] But in the *Rāmāyaṇa* Rāma meets Bharat first, then his mother and lastly his Guru Vaśiṣṭha.[21] Here also Kālidāsa has cleverly tried to show the supremacy of the Brāhmaṇas by changing the order in the matter of courtesy. Therefore the view held by Jaishanker Tripathi that the author of the *Raghuvaṃśa* had got inspiration from such an empire, which was being administered by some Brāhmin-ruler, seems to be genuine.[22]

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20. *Raghuvaṃśa,* 13.69—79, 14—1.

21. *Rāmāyaṇa* (Gorakhpur edition) *Yuddha Kāṇḍa,* 127. 39—52.

22. *Pariṣad Patrikā,* Patna, Varsha 14. Part II p. 14.

F. 5

In the *Vālmīki-Rāmāyaṇa,* Rāvaṇa is depicted as the worshipper of Brahmā. The story runs as follows :—

"Rāvaṇa went to the hermitage of Gokarṇa with his brothers to perform austerity. After a thousand year's penances Rāvaṇa threw his head to the fire. He repeated this oblation nine-times after equal intervals and was about to perform it tenth time, then Brahmā appeared and offered a boon to Rāvaṇa.[23] Kālidāsa has shown Rāvaṇa as the devotee of Śiva. The poet was śaivite himself as is evident from the prostrains of his work.[24]

The above analysis of the Rāmakathā of Kālidāsa reveals some interesting points. Kālidāsa was the staunch supporter of Brāhmin-superemacy. This leads us to think either Kālidāsa was born in a Brāhmaṇa family[25] or he lived in the empire administered by the Brāhmaṇa kings.[26] In spite of belonging to Brāhmaṇa family, Kālidāsa could not mention the Brāhmaṇic-supremacy so emphatically, if kings were not the supporter of Brahmanism. Therefore we may safely infer from his Rāmakathā that Kālidāsa was living under some benevolent inperialism and in an age of marked Brahmanical influence. Śaivite-nature of the poet, Brahmanic-supremacy, ignorance of Pāṭaliputra (Capital of Gupta rulers), vast and thorough knowledge of the Geography of Vidarbh, Avantī, Daśārṇa etc., indicate Kālidāsa as the court poet of the Vākāṭaka kings.

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23. *Rāmāyaṇa,* Uttar, 10—19.

24. See, *Abhijñāna Śākuntalam; Raghuvaṃśa, Vikramorvaśīyam.*

25. H. P. Shastri is of the view that Kālidāsa was Dosār Brāhman. See, *Vikram Volume,* Ujjain, 1948, p. 309.

26. *Ibid.,* p. 513.

THE CONCEPT OF AVIDYĀ

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Allahabad

Avidyā or Ajñāna—the most important concept of Vedānta Philosophy, has assumed various shades of meaning in its historical evolution. Śaṅkarācārya identified *Ajñāna* with *Māyā*. In Vedic literature *Māyā* means elusion and it is the progenitor of *Avidyā*. But in the Upaniṣads, the word *Avidyā* (worldly knowledge) dominates *Māyā* and gradually becomes synonymous with *Māyā*. Again in Vedānta, the word *Ajñāna* dominates *Māyā* or *Avidyā*. Metaphysically *Ajñāna* is the mixture of the real and unreal. In its psychological meaning it is *adhyāsa*. Every description of *Avidyā, Māyā or Ajñāna* presupposes a criterion of truth. Therefore *Ajñāna* is an epistemological category. It is relative to Jñāna. Jñāna means the unified knowledge that is self-evident and justified. Unless it is achieved all our Jñāna (relative knowledge) is Ajñāna which itself has to achieve perfection.

1. *Four Stages of Avidyā*

Avidyā or *Ajñāna* is one of the most important and prominent concepts in the Vedānta Philosophy. It does not, however, have an unalterable and fixed meaning throughout the historical evolution of the philosophy. Its meaning is very fluid and has at different times assumed various shades. What is implied in the Vedic literature seems at first sight to be almost contradictory to its later connotation.

Our present enquiry is intended to bring out the connecting links between its various meanings as they gradually

passed through various stages. To avoid all subsequent error and confusions in understanding the concept of *Avidyā,* it seems necessary at the very outset to make clear the ground by coming to terms with the word *Avidyā* itself. The misconception and misuse of this word is at the root of a host of fallacies; hence we believe that, no mean part of our task is fulfilled, if we are able, by means of a careful conceptual analysis, to define the concept of *Avidyā* in relation to its historical development. This will give an insight into the doctrine of *Māyā* which has always been a puzzle for the students of Vedānta Philosophy. In treating of the word we shall proceed chronologically, and trace the development of its meaning down to the time of Śaṅkara, when it acquired a firm and unalterable technical sense which survives even today.

Now if we trace the ancestry of the word *Māyā* in Vedic literature, we shall find that the word *Māyā* is more widely used there than the word *Avidyā.* So philosophically speaking the word *Māyā* is an ancestor of the word *Avidyā* but in the Upaniṣadic literature, the word *Avidyā* gets the upper hand over the word *Māyā.* In the next phase of the development the two words *Māyā* and *Avidyā* seem to be used synonymously, i.e. in the commentaries of the Upaniṣads that were written by Śaṅkara and his predecessors. Finally the word *Ajñāna* gains more currency in Vedānta Philosophy than the word *Māyā* or *Avidyā.* So Śaṅkara and his followers appear to have preferred the word *Ajñāna* to the word *Māyā* or *Avidyā.* Thus historically, there are four main stages of *Avidyā.* They are the stage of *Māyā,* the stage of *Avidyā,* the stage of *Avidyā-cum-Māyā* and the stage of *Ajñāna.* It is only with the fourth stage that the meaning of *Avidyā* or *Ajñāna* becomes completely epistemological.

So in order to have all the meanings of the word *Avidyā* at our command, we have to take into consideration the meanings of the word *Māyā* and *Ajñāna* also.

2. *Lexicographical meanings of Māyā.*

In later Vedānta philosophy *Avidyā* is, by and large, identified with *Māyā*. Many philosophers have alleged that Śaṅkara had borrowed the doctrine of *Māyā* from Buddhism, and maintained that this doctrine can not be traced back to the Vedas and Upaniṣads. Since the doctrine of *Māyā* and the Vedic character of Vedānta philosophy are the main and inalienable traits of Vedānta philosophy, so let us trace the meaning of the word *'Māyā'* in the Vedic literature.

Böthlingk and Roth in St. Petersburg Dictionary give the following different meanings of the word Māyā :

Kunst, ausserordentliches Vermoegen, Wunderkraft, Kunstgriff, List, Anschlag, Trug, Gaukelei, ein kuenstliches Gebilde, Trugbild, Blendwerk, Taeuschung (Eng. Trickery, extraordinary power, supernatural power, artifice, cunning, design, deception, illusion, an artificial image, phantom, delusion, deception). Now these do not help us much by their mere juxtaposition. In order to be free from false analogy and hasty etymologizing, we shall proceed inductively; and so we begin to view the meanings in the context in which the word *Māyā* occurs.

Geldner[1] assigns the following meanings to the word as it occurs in the *Ṛgveda* and *Atharvaveda*: (1) *Verwandlung, angenommene Gestalt; die kunst, sich und andere zu verwandeln, Verzauberung, zauberkraft, zauberkunst, die Macht Wunder zu tun, Allwissenheit, Betrug, List, Schlau-*

1. Karl F. Geldner, *Der Rigveda in Auswahl*, Stuttgart, 1907.

heit; (2) *Illusion, Taeuschung, Schein, Erdichtung;* (3) *der in das Verborgene eindringende Geist, Phantasie.* (1) act of changing, pleasing aspect; the trickery, transformation of self and others, magic, magic power, magic trick, the power to do miracle, omniscient; fraud, cunning, slighness; (2) Illusion, deception, imaginary; (3) The secretly pressing spirit, phantom). Uhlenbeck[2] also takes it to mean *Wunderkraft, Trug, Trugbild* (supernatural power, deception, phantom). Grassmann[3] (after referring it to the root *mā* = *man* vgl. *māti*) gives the equivalents: *Uebermenschliche Weisheit oder List, goettliche kunst oder zauber-kunst, zauberbild, Trugbild* (Superhuman wisdom or cunning, divine trickery or magic trick, imagination, phantom).

Following Boethlingk and Roth, Monier Williams[4] also says that the meanings of 'art', 'wisdom', 'extraordinary or supernatural power' are only found in the earlier language: but when he adds that in *Ṛgveda* the word also means 'illusion', 'unreality', 'deception', 'fraud', 'trick', 'sorcery', 'witchcraft', 'magic', etc., he is not accurate and is using these words loosely. Some shade of these is of course to be found in *Ṛgveda* and their further development is noticed in *Atharvaveda,* but to say that all these are found in *Ṛgveda* is not correct, but a hasty and erroneous generalization.

The *Nighaṇṭu* which is one of the earliest collections of Vedic homonyms, mentions '*Māyā*' as one of the eleven names of '*prajñā*' (intelligence).[5] The great commentator

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2. *Uhlenbeck, Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Altindischen sprache,* Amsterdam, 1898-99.

3. Grassmann, *Wörterbuch zum Rigveda.*

4. Monier Williams, *Sanskrit English Dictionary,* new edition, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1899, p. 811.

5. *Nighaṇṭu,* Vol. I ed. Calcutta, 1882; see p. 324, ch. iii, Sec. 9; Cf. Roth's ed. Göttingen, 1852; iii. 9 (p. 19).

on the *Nighaṇṭu,* Yāska[6] brings out the same sense of *'prajñā'* while explaining *'adhenvā carati māyayaiṣaḥ'* (*Nirukta* I.6, 4),[7] *'imām ū nu kavitamasya māyām'* (*Nirukta* VI.3, 4),[8] *'māyām ū tu yajñiyānām'* (*Nirukta* VII.7. 9)[9] and *'viśvā hi māyā avasi svadhāvaḥ'* (*Nirukta* XII.2. 6).[10]

The two chief meanings, which the word *Māyā* is assigned in *Ṛgveda* are "power" (*Prajñā,* lit. 'knowledge') and 'deception' (*'kapaṭa', 'vañcanā'*). The examination of the various passages in which the word occurs shows that wherever it means 'power' the idea of 'mystery' necessarily goes with it; i.e. it does not mean any 'physical' power but a 'mysterious power of the will', which we would translate into such Sanskrit expressions as *saṅkalpa-śakti* or *icchā-śakti.*

In *Ṛgveda* III.53.8, for instance, Indra is spoken of as 'assuming many different forms', and it is not done by his 'physical' power but simply by his wonderful and extraordinary 'will power' (*anekarūpagrahaṇasāmarthya*). He wills that he may assume such and such forms and it is realised; hence Indra is very frequently termed *māyin* in the Vedic hymns.

Thus the word *'Māyā'* has been used in the sense of falsity and illusion in the Velic literature. Now we shall see whether *Avidyā* has also been used in this sense.

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6. See the *Nirukta,* Vol. II, 1885, p. 134, 1'8; Vol. III, 1886, p. 190, 1.2; p. 427, 1.10; Vol. IV, p. 278, 1.10.

7. Cf. Roth's ed. of Yāska's *'Nirukta',* Göttingen, 1852; i.20 (p. 39). *R. V.* X.71.5.

8. Cf. *Ibid.* VI. 13 (p. 95-96). *R. V.* V.85.6.

9. Cf. *Ibid.* VII. 27 (p. 124) *R. V.* X.88.6.

10. Cf. *Ibid.* XII. 17 (p. 174) *R. V.* VI.58.1.

3. *The Vedic usages of Avidyā.*

1. *Avidyā* has been used mainly in the sense of worldly knowledge in the Vedic *Saṃhitās* and *Brāhmaṇas*—in the *Yajurveda Saṃhitā*[11] it is said that *Avidyā* i.e. worldly knowledge by itself leads a person towards darkness and *Vidyā* i.e. spiritual knowledge also by itself leads one to still more darkness, while *Vidyā* and *Avidyā* combined together help a person to get rid of darkness. In the next verse[12] it is said that *Avidyā* i.e. worldly knowledge is not conducive to grasping the nature of Ultimate Reality. Further in one of the verses[13] of *Yajurveda Saṃhitā, Avidyā* i.e. worldly knowledge is said to be the means for crossing death. This meaning of *Avidyā* i.e. worldly knowledge can also be seen in *Atharvaveda Saṃhitā*[14] and *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*.[15]

2. In the classical *Upaniṣads* also *Avidyā* seems to have the same sense of worldly knowledge. Though in a passage of *Chāndogya Upaniṣad*,[16] *Avidyā* is used in the sense of ignorance, but the passages of *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad*,[17] *Īśopaniṣad*,[18] *Kaṭhopaniṣad*,[19] *Maitrī Upaniṣad*,[20] *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*[21] and *Muṇḍakopaniṣad*[22] containing

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11. *Yajurveda Saṃhitā* 40, 12.
12. *Ibid.* 40, 13.
13. *Ibid.*, 40, 14.
14. *Śaunaka*, 11, 10, 23. *Paippalāda*, 6, 3, 3; 16, 87, 3.
15. *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, 14, 7, 1, 20. *Ibid.* 14, 7, 2, 4; 5.
16. *Nānā tu vidyā cāvidyā ca. Chāndogya Upaniṣad*, 1.1.10.
17. *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad*, 4, 3, 20; 4, 4, 3; 4, 4, 10.
18. *Īśopaniṣad*, 10, 11.
19. *Kaṭhopaniṣad*, 1.2.4; 1.2.5.
20. *Maitrī Upaniṣad*, 7.9.
21. *Śvetāśvatara Upaniṣad*, 5.1.
22. *Muṇḍakopaniṣads*, 1.2.8; 1.2.9.

the word *Avidyā,* can plausibly be explained only if we take *Avidyā* to mean worldly knowledge.

3. Again we see in some verses of the later *Upaniṣads, Avidyā* means the same as worldly knowledge.[23]

A careful study of the above meaning of *Avidyā* mainly in the sense of worldly knowledge, indicates that there is a philosophical development from the early meaning of *Avidyā*—to its later meaning. But nowhere *Avidyā*—has been identified with *Māyā*. This identification is the work of Śaṅkarācārya.

But these meanings give no solution to the problem of *Ajñāna*. They on the other hand create a lot of confusions. The real problem is not to gather the various meanings of the word *Māyā* but to show those meanings which have a philosophical bearing upon the identification of *Māyā* with *Avidyā*. When it was discovered that spiritual knowledge is the same as the Ultimate Reality, it was found that worldly knowledge is ultimately not real. Hence an identification of the worldly knowledge or *Avidyā* was made with *Māyā* or falsity. But this identification gave rise to a new concept that is called *Ajñāna*.

4. *The Metaphysical meaning of Ajñāna.*

Our task is now to know the meaning, nature and characteristics of *Añāna*. *Ajñāna* is nothing in itself. It is

23. (a) *Paingalopaniṣad,* II.16.
(b) *Maitrī Upaniṣad,* 7/9.
(c) *Tripādvibhūtimahānārāyaṇopaniṣads,* 4/1, 1/4.
(d) *Mahopaniṣad,* 4/109.

a mixture of the real and the unreal. Self or *Ātman* is only real. Apart from self everything else is unreal or not-self. *Ajñāna* is the mixture of these two *tattvas.* Why is this mixture ? This cannot be answered. Hence it is said that *Ajñāna* is *anādi* or beginningless. This characteristic of *Ajñāna* is similar to that of *Prakṛti* of *Sāṃkhya.* Not only this. As *Prakṛti* of *Sāṃkhya* is the cause of all the evolutes of the universe, every kind of objective existence is described as a mode of *Ajñāna.* When the Advaitic writers try to describe the evolution of the different forms of worldly existence, they trace them all to *Ajñāna.* In fact, in their cosmology, *Ajñāna* occupies the same place as is given to *Prakṛti* in the Sāṃkhya system. The descriptions of *Ajñāna* and *Prakṛti* are very much alike. Sometimes it is even expressly said that *Ajñāna* is another name for *Prakṛti.*

How do we then distinguish this Advaitic view of *Ajñāna* from the Sāṃkhya view of *Prakṛti* ? *Prakṛti* is both beginningless and endless, but *Ajñāna* is certainly begginnisgless but not endless. When ultimate reality is realised, *Ajñāna* vanishes. Secondly, *Prakṛti* is as real as *Puruṣa,* whereas *Ajñāna* is not as real as *Brahman* though it is the cause of the real *Brahman* appearing as the phenomenal world. Now one may object to this point as to how the unreal can be the cause of the appearance of the real. Śaṅkara's answer to this is that a reflection in a mirror is unreal but it can correctly represent the reflected object; the roaring of a tiger in a dream is unreal but it may make the dreamer tremble with fear and may awaken him.[24]

Śaṅkara has called *Ajñāna* as *Avidyā.* According to him it is *anādi, pratyakṣa* to all, basis or cause of all *pramā-*

24. *Śārīraka-Bhāṣya,* II, I, 14; *Śānta Ślokī,* 36; *Prabodhasudhākara,* pp. 99—102.

ṇas. But it is the basic evil and hence for its elimination *Vedānta* must be pursued.

Śaṅkara further calls *Ajñāna* as *Māyā*. Though later Advaitins are divided on the question whether *Avidyā* and *Māyā* are identical or different. They treat *Avidyā* and *Māyā*, differing from each other on the three points. Firstly, they say that *Māyā* is something positive, though absolutely dependent on and inseparable from *Brahman*, which *provides* a medium for the reflection of *Brahman* and for the projection of this world, being an essentially indistinguishable power of *Brahman*, while *Avidyā* is chiefly negative in character, being pure ignorance or absence of knowledge of Reality. Secondly, *Māyā*, the cosmic power of projection, conditions *Īśvara* who is not affected by *Avidyā*, while *Avidyā*, the individual ignorance, conditions the *jīva*. *Brahman* reflected in *Avidyā* is the *jīva*.[25] Hence though the individual ignorance is dispelled by knowledge, *Māyā* being the inherent nature of *Brahman*, cannot be so dispelled. Thirdly, *Māyā* is made mostly of *Sattva* while *Avidyā* is made of all the three *guṇas, sattva, rajas* and *tamas*. Śaṅkara who takes *Avidyā* and *Māyā* as synonymous terms brings out the following characteristics of *Avidyā* or *Māyā* :—

(1) *Māyā* is something material and unconscious (*jaḍa*) like that of *Prakṛti* of Sāṃkhya, as opposed to *Brahman* (*Puruṣa* of Sāṃkhya) which is pure consciousness.

(2) It is the inherent power of *Brahman*. It is coeval with Him and is dependent on and inseparable from *Brahman*.

(3) It is beginningless (*anādi*).

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25. *Kāryopādhir ayam jīvaḥ kāraṇopādhir īśvaraḥ*.

(4) It is something positive, though it is not real. It is called positive in order to emphasise the fact that it is not merely negative. It has two aspects. In its negative aspect it conceals Reality and acts as a screen to hide it. In its positive aspect it projects the world of plurality.

(5) It is indescribeable and indefinable for it is neither real nor unreal (*sadasadbhyāmanirvacanīyam*). It is not real for it has no separate existence apart from *Brahman* and it vanishes at the dawn of knowledge. It is not unreal for it projects the world of appearance and it is true as long as it lasts.

(6) It has a phenomenon of relative character (*vyavahārikasattā*). It is an appearance only.

(7) It is of the nature of superimposition (*adhyāsa*). It is an error (*bhrānti*) like that of 'rope-snake'. It is the superimposition upon one thing of the character of another thing. It is wrong cognition or misapprehension.

(8) It can be vanished by right knowledge.

(9) Its locus as well as object is *Brahman*, yet *Brahman* remains unaffected by it, as the magic of a magician does not affect him.

5. *The Psychological meaning of Ajñāna.*

It has already been stated that *Ajñāna* is not only negative in character, but has also a positive character, known as *bhāvarūpa*. In this positive character, it projects the world of plurality. In projection, let us now see, what does *Ajñāna* do. It simply superimposes the character of one thing upon another thing.[20] As a result, a thing appears

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26. *Śārīraka Bhāṣya* on *Brahma-sūtra*, 1.1, Intro.

something other than what it actually is; this in turn gives rise to the consciousness of 'this' as distinguished from 'that', that as different from this, or both as contrasted with a third something, the third with a fourth something, and so on and so forth. It is relative to the consciousness of self as distinguished from a not-self. The example of this superimposition becomes clear when the rope is taken for a snake. *Ajñāna* superimposes the form and nature of the snake on the rope, making the rope appear as a snake. This superimposition is popularly known as *Adhyāsa*. Hence the *bhāvarūpa Ajñāna* is *adhyāsa* itself.

'This kind of superimposition', says Śaṅkara, 'learned men define it as ignorance (*avidyā*) and the ascertainment of the true nature of an object by discrimination they call knowledge (*vidyā*) (*Br.Sūt.,* S. B., Introduction). The mind, the physical body and the external world are merely the implications of this primary false superimposition, though ultimately identical with it. This is the only *Ajñāna* about which we can talk in terms of actual experience.

Against this, one may raise the following objection. The act of imputing false character to a thing is not possible for an individual self unless it possesses a mind. But who is to ascribe individuality, activity, sorrow, joy and such other psychical states and properties to the pure-self? Individual self cannot do it. For he is the product of a false ascription. If it be said that the individuality of the self is not due to any false ascription, it would amount to admitting that the self is really an individual; and this would go against the advaitic tenet that the self is pure and free from individuality. It would also sound unreasonable to say that the individuality of the self is caused by the pure self; for this latter is free from all activity. How then can this pri-

mordial illusion of the self's individuality be possible at all ? It thus leads to the necessity of postulating some such principle as *Ajñāna* as the precondition of the illusion of individuality.

The above objection will not hold good if it be clearly grasped that, it too, is a false appearance. A wrong ascription cannot possibly have any rational ground. We may, at best, say that the cause of the ascription of an illusory not-self to the self is due to lack of reason or lack of discrimination or to be precise absence of right knowledge. But this is not to trace it to any positive entity which precedes it, but merely to state, in different words, that the said superimposition is wrong. The 'absence of right knowledge' cannot be said to be an actual fact of experience. What appears to us is only the wrong apprehension with its illusory object. This very 'this' assumes the character of "the absence of right knowledge" in contrast with the subsequently occurring right knowledge which cancels it. To say that the absence of proper knowledge is the cause of illusion is similar to saying that the absence of wakefulness is the cause of dream. Such modes of explanation are purely verbal. What has been said above just now 'the absence of right knowledge' would apply with much greater force to the theory that the ascription of finitude to the self is due to a positive and beginningless *Ajñāna* which is different both from the pure self and from the false ascription.

6. *The Epistemological meaning of Ajñāna.*

(i) Every description of *Avidyā, Māyā* or *Ajñāna* presupposes a criterion of truth. Hence a neat description of them is not possible. Their description is always coloured or prefigured or prejudiced by truth considerations. So *Ajñāna* is an epistemological category. It is no longer a metaphysical and psychological category. The metaphysi-

cal and psychological meanings of *Ajñāna* are pre-epistemological meanings and, therefore, they are not adequate.

(ii) The concept of *Ajñāna* is relative to the concept of *Jñāna*. When a particular judgement is compared to *Jñāna* and is found inconsistent with it, then it is called *Ajñāna*. So *Ajñāna* is only inconsistency or incoherence.

(iii) So long as there is no coherent view of a thing, all views of it are the examples of *Ajñāna*.

(iv) *Jñāna* means the unified knowledge that is self-evident and justified. Unless it is achieved all our knowledge, as a matter of fact, belongs to *Ajñāna*. But this *Ajñāna* is not downright false. It is relative knowledge or *Jñāna* which is itself rushing to be perfect *Jñāna*.

THE CONCEPT OF GURU IN THE GURU GRANTHA

RAJ KUMAR ARORA

Chandigarh.

The tradition of *Guruvāda* is very old. The whole of the Indian Philosophy and Religion emphasizes the important role of Guru in the sphere of spirituality. The Siddhas, Tāntrikas, Vajrayānists, Sahajiyās, the Nāthas, and Santas all express reverence to him and declare him as God itself, the Highest Reality, the Truth. In *Guru Grantha,* the *guru,* with *nāma* of the Lord in his heart, is said to have merged in God. He is one with *nāma* and *Śabda.* Apparently an ordinary man, he is extraordinary and performs divine duties.

In different fields of Indian philosophy and religion the *guru* has been allotted the supreme position. The *guru* tradition has always been repeatedly mentioned and stressed upon in unmistakable terms by all. "The whole field of Indian philosophy and religion is characterised by a unanimous emphasis on the *guruvāda* or the doctrine of the preceptor."[1] "In one sense the intellectual development of the man since times immemorial can be called the history of traditions of the *guru.* The bookish knowledge has its own place in our life, but besides this theoretical knowledge, when we pass our eyes on the practical knowledge, then we can never overlook the supreme necessity of the *guru.*"[2]

But when practical religion as preached by the *Siddhas,* the *Tāntrikas,* the *Vajrayānists,* the *Sahajiyās,* the *Nāthas*

1. S. B. Dasgupta, *Obscure Religious cults,* Calcutta University, 1940, pp. 83.

2. Ram Narayan Pandey, *Bhakti Kāvya me Rahasyavāda,* National Publishing House, Delhi, 1966, pp. 176-77.

and the *Santas* including the Sikh *Gurus* became quite widespread in India, the importance of the *guru* increased to great dimensions. The *Tāntrikas* who were the staunch votaries of practical religion had inherited the traditions of the *guruvāda,* but because of the special nature of their *sādhanā* they gave the *guru* supreme status. "In almost all the *Tantras* the *guru* is always praised in the superlative terms and is declared to be the highest reality itself."[3] "In fact, the *guru* is the legacy of the *Tantras*. The *Tāntrik sādhanā* is the most sacred *Śāstra*. It is quite mystical and mysterious. Its knowledge without the *guru* is unthinkable."[4] Similar is the case with the *Vajrayānists*. "In fact, the handing down of traditions through an uninterrupted chain of *gurus* and disciples is common with reference to all *Śāstras* that were produced in India, but nowhere is reverence shown to the *guru* so much in evidence as in *Vajrayāna*."[5] Speaking generally, S. B. Dasgupta[6] writes, "The high stress of many *Santa* poets is on the *guru*, that of the *Sūfī* poets is on the *guru* or the murshid, that of the Sikhs is still more particularly on the *guru,* that of the *Nātha Yogīs* is similarly on the *guru,* that of the *Vaiṣṇava Sahajiyās,* and the Auls, and other religious sects of Bengal is also on the *guru.*" It is further mentioned, "The *guruvāda* was fully blossomed to its perfection in the Hindi devotional literature of the *Santas*. It is true that the concept of *guru* had degenerated in the hands of the *Vajrayānists,* but the *Santas* who had the good of the world at heart, adopted the

3. S. B. Dasgupta, *ibid.,* pp. 88.

4. Trigunayat, *Hindī Kī Nirguṇa Kāvyadhārā aur usakī Dārśanika Pṛṣṭhabhūmi,* Sahitya Niketan, Kanpur, 1961, pp. 202—203.

5 B. Bhattacharya, *An Introduction to the Buddhist* Esoterim, OUP, 1932, p. 93.

6. *Ibid.,* p. 356.

pure concept of the *guruvāda*. They followed the path of the perfect *yogīs* and thus experienced the indispensability of the *guru*."[7]

The teachings and writings of the leaders of the various creeds as mentioned above created profound faith and respect for the *guru* among the people. Naturally, under this influence many bogus *gurus* with half-baked docrines must have cheated many innocent people. As some outward signs were considered very important for the *guru* of a particular sect, so there was no dearth of the number of such people coming to the forefront. The Sikh *Gurus* were quite conscious of this fact and, therefore, they laid particular emphasis on the qualities of a true *guru*. They rightly condemned the stress laid on the outward symbols of a *guru* and instead relied on the inner excellence of a *guru*. As is said, "The true *guru* is one who has the *Nāma* of the Lord in his heart."[8] "The true *guru* is one who dwells on truth. The *Sat guru* and truth are one, he is a true *guru* who has overpowered five desires."[9] "The true *guru* is the field of *Sahaj*, whosoever loves it, sows in it *Nāma*, there is an abundant crop of *Nāma* and one merges in *Nāma*."[10]

Guru and God

The Sikh *Gurus* have repeatedly mentioned that the *guru* and God are one and inseparable. God's light dawns on the *guru* and His power is transferred to him. Therefore the *guru* is the manifest form of the unmanifest Lord. "There is no difference between the *guru* and the Lord."[11]

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7. Ram Narayan Pandey, *op. cit.*, p. 163.
8. The *Guru Grantha*, p. 287
9. *Ibid.*, p. 302.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 947.
11. *Ibid.*, p. 77.

"God and *guru* are one, He is present everywhere."[12] Here we find that though there appears to be a reference to two separate persons i.e. God and *guru*, actually they are inwardly one, and maintain complete identity. Jñānadeva expresses the identity of the devotee (himself), his *guru* and God in these words, "God, His devotee and the *guru* are united together, as three rivers merge in a confluence, when every thing becomes God, how is one to worship Him.[13] Attributes of God are also applied to the *guru*." Blessed is the *guru*, the great *Puruṣa*, through whom I see the vision of the Lord."[14] "The *guru* is God, unfathomable and mysterious; his service leads to the knowledge of the three world."[15] "He, the *guru* is and always will be, so this is what the Lord has revealed to me."[16] "Without the *guru* there is no support; He is the giver and bestows *Nāma*. The *guru* himself is the transcendental Lord, the supreme *God*."[17] In the *Tāntrik* Buddhism we also come across similar references. He (*guru*) is idolized as the Buddha, he is the *Śūnyatā*, he is *Dharam Kāyā and* emancipation of the individual lies in his power.[18]

The above ideas of the *Guru Grantha* establish the point that the references are to a human *guru* who has expanded his spiritual faculties to the maximum and becomes one with him. Whatever belongs to the *guru* belongs to

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12. *Ibid.*, pp. 53, 864.

13. *The Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol. IV, K. V. Gajendragadkar, "The Maharashtra Saints and their teachings", Rama-Krishna Mission, Calcutta, 1958, p. 375.

14. The *Guru Grantha*, p. 776.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 1125.

16. *Ibid.*, p. 864.

17. *Ibid.*, 328.

18. B. Bhattacharya, *An Introduction to the Buddhist Esoterism*, p. 53.

God and the latter always stands by the former. For it is clearly stated, "The Lord himself is the refuge of the *guru* and He saves all who belong to the *guru*. Whoever thinks of ill will for the *guru*, is destroyed by the Lord. This is the fact of the Court of the Lord and this is the mystery."[19] "Surely, the *guru* here represents the majesty and power of the Lord. God for most of the people is beyond comprehension and unthinkable and perhaps quite fictious, therefore, there is the indispensability of the *guru*, a human being whom the devotees can see, talk with and get their doubts removed. For them the *guru* represents the Lord." Sometimes the *guru* is a substitute even for God, or at least God is to be realized through the medium of the person of the *guru*, who stands as the living proof for the existence of God."[20] "It is true that the Sikh scripture considers at certain places a human being as a *guru*, but it also refers to the Lord as the *guru*." Like the *guru* there is no pilgrimage, for God is the true *Guru*.[21] "My *guru* is the transcendental Lord, the God of all gods, infinite, unthinkable and mysterious."[22] "I worship my *guru*, my *guru* is God, my *guru* is the transcendental Lord, He is unknownable and unperceivable."[23] "He who created me, I know Him through the *guru*. The *guru* is the creator and the cause of all causes."[24] Thus we find that the Sikh religion believes that God as well as a human being who has developed total communication with Him are the *gurus*. Drawing a distinction between these two the *Guru Grantha* maintains,

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19. The *Guru Grantha*, p. 312.
20. S. B. Dasgupta, *ibid.*, pp. 87-88.
21. The *Guru Grantha*, p. 437.
22. *Ibid.*, pp. 522, 827.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 864.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 864.

"One (God) is Light and the *guru* is the form."[25] "The Lord resides in the *guru's* mind and imparts glory to him."[26] "The Lord is merged in the *guru* and there He dispenses his *Śabda*."[27]

The most distinguished position enjoyed by the *guru* in the Sikh religion is indicative of the fact that the theory of the *avatāravāda* is vaguely referred to in certain respects, though this religion does not believe in this theory. Therefore, Macnicol[28] is of the opinion that, "The *avatāras* of the Hindu legend have been definitely replaced by the true *guru*, and devotion to him is the vital centre of religion." But the Prophets of Sikh religion were quite careful and conscious about the evils of idol worship, therefore, they tried their best and eminantly succeeded in not allowing their followers to become idolators. This was achieved by constant teachings of the pure doctrines, in spite of the fact that certain rival sects out of jealousy or selfishness attempted to dilute the original faith by trying to incorporate certain ideas which were repugnant to the basic teaching of this religion.

Greatness of Guru

The *guru* as the embodiment of God's power[29] has been rightly eulogised in the most superlative terms in the Sikh faith. A wealth of adjectives attributed to him. His praise is unbounded. His greatness and glory like the

25. *Ibid.*, p. 30.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 311.
27. *Ibid.*, 1279.
28. *Indian Theism*, (Oxford University Press, Toronto, 1915, p. 151.
29. *The Cultural Heritage of India*, Vol. IV, Swami Pratigyanand, "Tantras as a way of Realization". P. 23.

Lord are immense and beyond description. "The *guru* is the ladder, he is the boat, the river, the ocean, he is the ship, he is the *tīratha*."[30]

"He is the giver, he is all powerful, all reside in him, he is God, and he saves the drowning people. We have no words to praise him. He does everything himself."[31] "In the *guru* is enshrined the Lord Himself, he unites us with the Lord, he is the sea of devotion, he who comes to him, partakes of it, the *guru* in his mercy opens his tongue, there is light of God to see."[32] "There is no pilgrimage like the *guru*, he is the pool of contentment and compassion, he is the clean flowing river, bathing in whom one is rid of impurities. When we bathe in the wisdom of the *guru*, we are rid of all evil desires and develop godly qualities."[33] In extolling the qualities of the *guru* there is no dearth of adjectives in the *Guru Grantha*. It is mentioned, "The *guru* is the pool of nectar, only the fortunate ones bathe in it."[34] "He is the deep and vast ocean of peace."[35] "The ways of *guru* are boundless and infinite."[36] Keeping in view the highest position of the *guru* the Sikh religion emphatically declares, "None is equal to the *guru*, I have searched the whole world."[37] "He is God, the transcendental Lord. The glory of the *guru* cannot be described. I have pleased my *guru* and the Lord is merciful to me."[38] This most digni-

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30. *The Guru Grantha*, p. 17.
31. *Ibid.*, p. 49.
32. *Ibid.*, p. 996.
33. *Ibid.*, p. 1329.
34. *Ibid.*, pp. 40, 493.
35. *Ibid.*, p. 50.
36. *Ibid.*, p. 361.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 50.
38. *Ibid.*, p. 1271.

fied status of the *guru* has impelled the authors of the Sikh Scripture to state with perfect conviction and ease that "O, my mind, utter *guru, guru* and attain bliss. Enshrine the teachings of the *guru* in the heart and remember the Lord with every breath. I am a sacrifice to the lotus feet of the *guru;* sing always his praises, bathe in the dust of his feet, and attain glory in the true Court. He is the ship to ferry across. When you meet him, you are not cast in the world again. He is my mainstay for the Lord. He is my family, my code of conduct, my groom, my refuse. He is the manifestation of the Lord. I cannot estimate his greatness."[39]

Similar parallel references from other tests are worth quoting here. "As when a tree has been watered at the roots, it goes to the branches and the foliage, as when a man has taken a bath in the sea, he is said to have bathed in all the holy waters of the world, and when nectar has been once enjoyed, all the flavours have been forthwith enjoyed, similarly, when the *guru* has been worshipped, all desires are fulfilled."[40] *Santa* Jñāneśvara is unable to find words in praise of the *guru*. He says, "Is it possible to add lusture to the sun ? Is it possible to add a scent to camphor ? How can a sandle tree be made more fragrant ? How can one add a hue to the pearl ? Or, what is the propriety of giving a silver polish to the gold ? It is better that one should remain silent, and silently bow to the feet of his *guru*."[41] It is further added, "As when the Sun shines on the horizon, the moon fades away in the back ground, similarly when the *guru* shines, all the sciences fade away. It is thus the only adequate way of expressing one's appreciation of the greatness of the *guru,* for the greatness of the *guru* can never be

39. *Ibid.*, p. 127.

40. *The Jñāneśvarī*, p. 1, 23-23.

41. *Ibid.*, X 9–15.

adequately praised."[42] Summing up Jñāneśvara's devotion for the *guru*, Ranade writes, "His love for the *guru* is profound, and absolutely unbounded, and though he praises him with all the wealth of his poetic genius, heaping similies upon similies, and metaphors over metaphors, he yet declares that he is absolutely incapable of adequately describing the greatness of the *guru*."[43] In the *Tantras* also the *guru* is similarly praised. "The *guru* is not to be thought of as a man. There is no difference between *guru*, *mantra* and *deva*. *Guru* is father, mother, and *Brahman*. *Guru*, it is said, can save from the wrath of *Śiva*, but none can save from the wrath of the *guru*."[44] In the literature of Gorakha Nath the same sentiments are echoed." "The *guru* is the highest *mantra* and *jap*. He is the highest knowledge, nothing is without him. *Maheśvarī* is pleased with whom *guru* is pleased. If the *guru* is satisfied, all gods are pleased."[45]

Guru and Grace

In the devotional literature the doctrine of grace has a profound significance. The moment it is granted the aspirant's fire is cooled, fountain of love is let loose in the heart and he has the vision of the Lord. As there is no difference between God and *guru*, so the efficacy of the grace of the *guru* is quite similar to that of the Lord. The all-powerful grace of the *guru* has the miraculous powers. "By

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42. *Ibid.*, XIV 1—16.

43. *Mysticism in Maharashtra,* Shanwar Peth, Poona, 1933, p. 161.

44. John Woodroffe, *op. cit.*, Ganesh & Co., Madras, 1956, pp. 63—66.

45. Rangeya Raghava, *Gorakh Nath and His Times,* Atma Ram & Sons, Delhi, 1963, p. 109.

the grace of the *guru* one worships the Lord,"[46] and is released from the bondage."[47] This subtle power burns ego and duality. Its impact on the mind is immense. The mind is not soiled, it is imbued with *Nāma,* and is in perfect peace."[48] It leads to the inner rediscovery. He (Lord) is not revealed by words and chatters, but by the grace of the *guru.*[49] It also conquers the enemies. "By the grace of the *guru* I have overpowered my ememies and they have left my abode." The door of salvation is opened by the *guru's* grace." The door (Tenth door) is unlocked. By the grace of the *guru*, it is opened and one enjoys the blissful life.[50] The blossoming of the lotus within which the *yogīs* attained after many practices was also achieved by grace. "By the grace of the *guru* the inverted lotus of my mind is blossomed. There is illumination all round and darkness is removed."[51]

This doctrine of grace has been greatly highlighted in those cults and creeds which proceeded the *Santa-Mata.* "It is extremely difficult for an ordinary spiritual aspirant to attain true success in the renunciation of all objects of senses and mental desires and enjoyment, in the realization of the absolute truth, in the state of absolute freedom, without the merciful help of an enlightened *guru.*"[52] ....."Great importance has been attached to the selection of the preceptor—for it is neither by much reading nor by penances,

46. The *Guru Grantha,* p. 32.
47. *Ibid.,* p. 33.
48. *Ibid.,* p. 238.
49. *Ibid.,* p. 362.
50. *Ibid.,* p. 425.
51. *Ibid.,* p. 864.
52. A. K. Banerji, *Philosophy of Gorakh Nath,* Mahant Digvijaya Press, Gorakhpur, 1961, p. 245.

nor by any amount of labour undertaken in innumerable practices that a *sādhaka* can get at the truth, it has been repeated over and over again that Truth can never be attained without the blessings of the preceptor."[53] Swami Pratigyanand is more clear on this point when he writes,[54] "Now, at every crisis and critical position the aspirant or *sādhaka* requires and often gets what we may call ultra ego centric 'help' or extra scheduled power. He gets it from Mother *Kuṇḍalinī* herself in that vital and supremely important aspect of hers which is called *guru śakti*. In one sense, it is the aspect of divine grace, it is *kṛpā*."

Jñānadeva praises the grace of the *guru* in very highly eulogistic terms. "Bathed in the waters of his *guru's* grace, the individual self becomes so pure that he comes to regard even *Śiva* as impure, and would not allow the latter to touch him."[55] Jñānadeva exultantly proclaims that he has been made the sole sovereign of the kingdom of the supreme bliss by the grace of his *guru;* and though he is really one with the *guru,* it is the love of the latter that he should be addressed as his Master's own."[56] The *Guru Grantha*[57] states eloquently, "When the *guru* is in mercy (grace) one meets the Lord, he is ferried across, reaches heaven and *Nāma* is enshrined in the mind. The mind ceases its wanderings in the ten directions and the five demons are subdued. The body becomes eternal, one always dwells on *Nāma* and gains the knowledge of the three

53. S. B. Dasgupta, *An Introduction to Tantric Buddhism,* University of Calcutta, 1950, p. 174.

54. *The Cultural Heritage of India,* Vol. IV 'Tantras as a way of realization', p. 237.

55. *Jñāneśvarī,* Indian Press, Prayag, 1955, II.30.

56. *Ibid.,* IX 64—66.

57. *Ibid.,* pp. 1167—68.

worlds. One is always blessed, finds the Abode, and is detached. He is steadfast and takes good and bad things in the same spirit and the destiny is awakened. He gets the reward of bathing in 68 holy places and the poison is turned into a sweet essence for him. All the doubts are removed and the noose of *Yama* does not effect him. He is neither born, nor dies, without the *guru* there is no refuge."

Thus we find that the power of the grace of the *guru* is immense in the *Santa* litērature as well as the *Nātha's* doctrines and the *Tantras*. Service of the *guru*, moulding one's life in the will of the Lord, remembrance of His *Nāma*, detachment with the world are a few things to mention which entitle a person to become fortunate in the eyes of the *guru* and receive his grace. The *Grantha* is very eloquent on these aspects, and herein lies its contribution to the doctrine of grace.

Guru and Śabda.

In the *Guru Grantha* the doctrine of *Śabda* has been often emphasised to a very great extent. It is used in many ways and senses. Here we are concerned with its meanings vis-a-vis the *guru*. As the *guru* is the repository of all spiritual jewels, so in him enshrines the *Śabda* and he also imparts it to the devotee. *Śabda* is the means by which one gets wisdom and the knowledge of the Lord. "By the *Śabda* of the *guru* one recognises the abode of the Lord within."[58] "From the *guru's Śabda* one becomes fit to get knowledge and intuition."[59] "The diamond is hidden in everybody. But due to ignorance one is unable to discover it. Only the *guru's Śabda* empowers us to know it."[60] "We get illumination within by the *Śabda* of the

58. *The Guru Grantha*, p. 364.
59. *Ibid.*, p. 59.
60. *Ibid.*, p. 112.

guru. In this way *Nāma* keeps our company in the end."[61] When I dwell on the *Śabda* of the *guru*, I find that the whole world is on fire."[62] True is the *guru*, true is his *Śabda*, through which I know the Lord."[63] "The *guru* is the boatsman, the *Śabda* is the oar to ferry us across."[64] The *Śabda* cools our craving, perishes our passions and brings peace and happiness. "By the *Śabda* of the *guru*, I quench my thirst. I attain bliss in a *Śahaj* way."[65] "The *Śabda* of the *guru* opens the hard gate of the mind and the light dawns."[66] "The *Śabda* burns ego and attachment[67] and removes all cravings and hungers."[68] "We get peace when we remember the *Śabda* of the *guru*."[69] Stress on the reflection and contemplation of the *Śabda*. It may mean a *mantra* whose references in the *Guru Grantha* are nowhere to be traced, or the general instructions imparted by the *guru* to the devotee. Needless to say that it is quite easy to reflect on a *mantra* consisting of some words but quite difficult to contemplate on the whole teachings of the *guru*. Its one purpose is to make the mind steady. The mind remains within the small radius of a *mantra*, reflecting again and again over it, thus gradually heading to the quickening of the process of absorption. "The true *guru* has blessed me with the *Mantra* of the *Śabda*, I dwell on the *Śabda* and sing the glory of divine joy."[70] "The mind becomes steady

61. *Ibid.*, p. 426.
62. *Ibid.*, p. 643.
63. *Ibid.*, p. 769.
64. *Ibid.*, pp. 1009, 1309.
65. *Ibid.*, pp. 1147, 373, 1078.
66. *Ibid.*, pp. 331, 597.
67. *Ibid.*, p. 364.
68. *Ibid.*, p. 850.
69. *Ibid.*, pp. 889, 1259, 1275.
70. *Ibid.*, p. 576.

and motionless when we contemplate on the *Śabda*."[71] Only that person is wise who reflects on the *Śabda*.[72] About the majesty of *Śabda* as the medium it is emphatically declared, "Without the *Śabda* of the *guru* one is not released.[73] The identity of the *Śabda* and *guru* is clearly mentioned, "The *Śabda* is the *guru* and the *guru* is the *Śabda*, the *Śabda* shows the path of deliverance."[74]

The glory and dignity of the *Śabda* has been well recognised in other creeds also. The knowledge of the Lord and Lord are not two different things. That secret is opened by the *Śabda* of the *guru*. As a thorn is helpful in extracting a thorn and the key opens the lock, so the *Śabda* is opened by the *Śabda*.[75] From hell and heaven, I am freed by the favour of the true *guru*. Death by which the whole world is frightened, that death becomes meaningless by the *Śabda* of the *guru*."[76]

Guru and His Service

The *guru*, a human being, but having all the attributes of the Lord, is the only person who deserves our service. The service of such a personification of God is the valid passport for liberation and it leads to the knowledge of the Supreme being. The merits of pilgrimage, fast, disciplines etc. are also found in the service of the *guru*.[77] "One gets

71. *Ibid.*, pp. 374, 387.
72. *Ibid.*, p. 650.
73. *Ibid.*, p. 229.
74. *Ibid.*, p. 1310.
75. *Gorakh Bani*, Hindi Sahitya Samachar, Prayag, 1945, p. 207.
76. Westcot, *Kabīra and Kabīra Pantha*, Susil Gupta, Calcutta, 1953, pp. 71—72.
77. *Guru Grantha*, pp. 48, 423.

the fruits of 68 holy places by serving the *guru*."[78] "By serving the *guru* cravings are stilled and one gets wisdom." "Duality is burnt to ashes and the mind is satiated."[79] "One becomes famous in the four ages after serving the *guru*"[80] and also has the knowledge of the three worlds.[81] Those who do not serve the *guru* are a miserable wretch. "Who does not serve the *guru* is a fool. He comes again and again in this world and is unable to attain the gate of salvation."[82] "Without the service of the *guru* all actions hinder the progress of soul."[83] It is only the rare who serve the *guru*. "In whose destiny it is so written, he serves the *guru*."[84] In addition to the different forms of service the Sikh *gurus* enjoin upon their followers to serve the *guru* with the *Śabda*."[85] Thus we find that the Sikh religion believes that what one gets by devotion can also be attained by the service of the *guru*.

Guru and Nāma

According to Macnicol,[86] "The *Nāma* is the mysterious concrete embodiment as it were, of the deity, and the power of the *guru* lies in that he can convey it to the seeker. And he can only convey it. The *guru* and *Nāma* are inseparably linked." The *guru* is the custodian of *Nāma*." "Without *guru* you cannot find the *Nāma*, you

78. *Ibid.*, p. 147.
79. *Ibid.*, p. 88.
80. *Ibid.*, p. 111.
81. *Ibid.*, p. 423.
82. *Ibid.*, p. 115.
83. *Ibid.*, p. 552.
84. *Ibid.*, p. 363.
85. *Ibid.*, p. 115.
86. *Indian Theism*, p. 150.

may perform millions of deeds."[87] "The *guru* is imbued with the *Nāma,* he is the only boat in the *Kali yuga.*"[88] The *guru* grants the bounties of *Nāma* to the deserving few. "When we meet the *guru,* we get the treasure of *Nāma.*[89] "When I was blessed with *Nāma* my mind was cooled."[90] "He gives us the nectar *Nāma* and one is not born or die again."[91] Thus we find that the true *guru* is saturated with *Nāma* (the power of Lord) and he transmits or awakens the same in his devotees.

Guru as the Mediator

The *guru* is not only a human being with all the attributes of God, the repository of *Nāma* and *Śabda* and gifted with all the divine qualities and powers as mentioned above, but also the only authorised person to work as a channel between the devotee and the Deity. None can have direct access to the Lord except through the medium of the *guru.* The *guru* shows the way, helps the *sādhaka* in moving forward on the way and brings him face to face with the Supreme Being. In the Sikh scripture we find several hymns addressed to the *guru* as being the mediator "God is realized only through the *guru,* and the devotee enters the door of salvation.[92] He is the only connecting link. "The fire is present in the wood but without the proper way we cannot discover it, so without knowing the way through the *guru,* we cannot find the Lord's door."[93]

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87. *Guru Grantha,* p. 40.
88. *Ibid.,* p. 552.
89. *Ibid.,* pp. 32, 522, 523, 1002.
90. *Ibid.,* p. 1002.
91. *Ibid.,* p. 49.
92. *Ibid.,* pp. 27, 228, 313, 414.
93. *Ibid.,* p. 535.

In Christianity similar ideas are also mentioned. "He (*guru*) is the mediator between his brethren and the Divine."[94]

Importance of Guru

Such a mysterious person, as the *guru* who is imbued with *Nāma* and *Śabda,* who has permanently established his communion with the Lord and is the only and true representative of God in His fullness and entirety is bound to occupy a position of supreme importance. He is the messenger of God on earth. He is capable and competent to do all things and without him nothing is possible. Our cravings, ego, afflictions, the five thieves within us and other enemies are devoted to the exalted position of the *guru*. "Without the *guru*, the readers of the six *Śāstras,* the *yogīs*, the *sanyāsīs* etc. are always in doubt."[95] "The study of holy books, *japa, tapa*, pilgrimages, austerities and all such things do not bring peace to the individual. It is only when we meet the *guru*, that our mind becomes tranquil."[96] "There is no refuge for those who keep away from the *guru* and do not seek his living presence. Those who do not meet him, their life is cursed. He, who is cursed by the *guru* is cursed by the whole world. Those who do not identify themselves with the *guru*, they seek refuge in vain."[97] "Without the help of the *guru* none has attained the Lord. He is the essence of the Lord. He reveals it and also proclaims it. When we meet the *guru*, we are delivered and our attachments are gone."[98] About

94. *Underhill, Mysticism,* Methew & Co., Ltd., W. C. London, 1957, p. 75.

95. *Guru Grantha,* p. 67.

96. *Ibid.,* p. 103.

97. *Ibid.,* p. 308.

98. *Ibid.,* p. 466.

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the effulgence of the *guru* it is said—"Let the hundred moons rise and a thousand suns come up, but with this brilliance, there is darkness without the *guru*."[99] keeping in view the glory of the *guru*, the Sikh masters emphatically declare, "I contemplate the *guru* within, I utter the *Śabda* of the *guru* with my tongue, I see the *guru* with my eyes, I hear with my ears his *Śabda*, when I am imbued with the true *guru*, I shall have my abode in the Lord's palace."[100]

To quote a few relevant parallel references from other sources may be quite interesting and useful to us. Kanha says, "Cut the tree down with the axe of the great preceptor's instructions so that the tree may not shoot forth any more. The tree grows up in the waters of good and evil and the wise cut it with the instructions of the *guru*."[101] Only that person who follows a true *guru* can drink nectar from the well located in the *Daśaṃ Dvāra* to his heart's content. Though this nectar is vailable in a *Sahaja* way, but the disciple without a true *guru* remains thirsty and dies in vain."[102] Kabīra echoes similar views. "The *guru's* greatness is so immense that his instructions for a short time can take man to the heights of God-head."[103] "It is out of the light of the *guru* that the moon and stars are created, and it is through his light above that the sun shines."[104] The *Santa* literature is full of *guru's* greatness. "The spiritual seeds already present will grow into flowers and fruits when the *guru* like the clouds will rain the waters of his instruc-

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99. *Ibid.*, pp. 463, 534, 771.
100. *Ibid.*, p. 517.
101. Song No. 45 *Dohā Kośa*, Calcutta Sanskrit Series, 1938.
102. *Gorakha-Bānī*, p. 9.
103. *Granthāvalī*, Nagari Pracharini Sabha, 1958, p. 1.
104. *Jñāneśvarī*, II, 28.

tions at the appropriate time."[105] "In the *Santa* literature a person without the *guru* was considered very low and mean. The *sākhīs* of *Kabīra* begin with salutation to the *guru*."[106] *Santa* Jñāneśvara is very eloquent on this point. He says, "Let me make my heart the seat for the *guru,* and let me place upon it my *guru's* feet." Let all my senses sing the chorus of unity, and throw before the feet of the *guru* a handful of flowers of praise. Let me apply to the feet of the *guru* a fingerful of Sandle ointment, made pure by the consideration of identity. Let me put before his feet ornaments of spiritual gold. Let me place upon them the eight petalled flowers of pure joy. Let me burn the essence of egoism, blow off the lights of self annihilation and cling to the feet of the *guru* with the feeling of absorption."[107] "He (Jñāneśvara) regards that a moment spent without the *guru* is greater than a world cycle."[108] Here is a typical example of profound respect for the *guru.* "His reverence for the *guru* was so great that he never turned his back towards him, and his midnight journey to the river he used, on all occasions, to walk bare footed, i.e., with the face towards the *guru's* house (Amar Dass)."[109]

On meeting the Guru

Only the most fortunate persons meet such a *guru,* because he is one in lacs. God manifests Himself through

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105. *Santa Bānī saṃgraha,* I, p. 125, Belvediar Press, Allahabad, 1955.

106. Ram Narayan Pandey, *Bhakti Kāvya Mê Rahasyavāda,* p. 163.

107. *The Jñāneśvarī,* XV 1—7.

108. Ranade., *Mysticism in Maharashtra,* p. 75.

109. Mohd. Latif., *History of Panjab,* Eurasia, New Delhi, 1964, p. 251.

him. It is due to the fruits of the past good deeds of the aspirant or due to the grace of the Lord that one earns the good fortune to come in contact with a true *guru*. "He alone meets the perfect *guru* in whose writ it is so written."[110] In the Sikh religion contact with a *guru* is most auspicious and spiritually rewarding. "Who have met the *guru* find their object of life fulfilled."[111] "One is not blessed when one lives in Benaras, and so wisdom is not lost if one leaves Kāśī; we get wisdom and are awakened when we meet the *guru*."[112] "A meeting with the *guru* removes our fear and doubt."[113] The whole spiritual experience is summed up beautifully, "When we meet the perfect *guru*, the wandering of the mind ceases, nectar oozes from the Tenth Door, and we are attuned to the music of *Sahaj*, and see the Lord within our Home."[114]

Thus a perfect *guru* is at once the conserver and the carrier of the whole spirituality which is God Himself. But it must be admitted that the perfect *guru* never parades himself with some sign boards. He is always humble and considers himself the servant of the Lord. His inner effulgence shines on his face and eyes and he utilises his powers for the good of the world without proclaiming them. He does this job, silently, secretly and indirectly.

Conclusion

Thus from the above discussion it becomes quite clear that the tradition of the *guruvāda* is, no doubt, quite old. Repeated emphasis is laid on the *guru's* supreme importance

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110. *The Guru Grantha*, pp. 307, 421, 450, 757.
111. *Ibid.*, pp. 318–19.
112. *Ibid.*, p. 491.
113. *Ibid.*, pp. 387, 525.
114. *Ibid.*, p. 730.

in the spiritual way of life. Various esoteric cults have said much about the status and powers of the *guru*. It is true that similar references are found in the allied cults of the *Santa Mata* as well as the cults that preceeded them, but the sphere of *guru's* importance has been sufficiently widened here. But at some places his position becomes subordinate when he performs the duties of a mediator or carries out the Will of the Lord. After all God has to work through some human agency and the perfect *guru* is the only instrument in that direction. The Sikh *Gurus* imbibed and assimilated the current traditions about the *guru*, but they broadened several aspects of his sublime personality thus making him as one among men but not one of them. He lives and moves in the world, but his being is merged in the Lord. His position is extolled to the highest when he is made equal to God and without him there is utter darkness in the world. Only men of good fortune get the proud privilege of coming in his contact. He is one with *Nāma* and *Śabda*, the two most profound concepts in the Sikh faith. It is rightly said that the greatness of a true *guru* is beyond expression.

in the spiritual way of life. Various scriptures have said much about the Guru and [illegible] his position. It is seen that similar terms have been used [illegible] of the Saints, Bhaktas as well as the ones that preceded them, but the spiritual [illegible] importance has been [illegible] assigned to [illegible] as the personification of knowledge is himself apart when he performs the duties of a Guru. He carries out the Will of the Lord. After all God likes to work through some human agency and the perfect Guru is the only instrument for this purpose. He removes [illegible] inhibitions and [illegible] the correct [illegible] but he broadens [illegible] a person of his followers [illegible] daily thus making him [illegible] among men [illegible]. He lives and moves in the world, but his being is merged in the Lord. His position is exalted to the highest when he is made equal to God and without him there is utter darkness in the world. Only men of good fortune get the proud privilege of coming in his contact. He is one with Nāma and Śabda, the two most profound concepts in the Sikh faith. It is rightly said that the greatness of a true guru is beyond expression.

BRONZE IMAGES OF CUNDĀ IN THE PATNA MUSEUM

DR. BHAGWANT SAHAI

Patna

Cundā is a dhāriṇī deity (embodiment of a peculiar type of Buddhist work, mostly composed of meaningless syllables) supposed to have a great mystic power.

The author in this paper studies in comparison the bronze images from Nalanda, stored in Patna Museum, which are catalogued there under the name of the goddess Prajñāpāramitā and holds that these invariably display the *dharma-cakramudrā* and not the *Varadamudrā* and hence these images represent the goddess Cundā. Similarly a bronze image from Kurkihara seated in *Vajraparyaṅkāsanamudrā* on a single lotus, and another eighteen armed bronze image, seated cross-legged on a lotus pedestal with typical hand-pose, also characterize the goddess Cundā.

The Buddhist goddess Cundā, variously known as cundrā, Candrā, Caṇḍā, Cuṇḍrā and Cundavajrī, is a *dhāriṇī* work, called *Cundadhāriṇī*, deified in the same way as the goddess Prajñāpāramitā is the deification of the Mahāyāna scripture of the same name. Altogether twelve in number, the *dhāriṇīs* form a peculiar kind of Buddhist literature, which is supposed to generate great mystic power on being repeated continually for a longer period.[1] The *dhāriṇīs* are short works composed mostly of meaningless syllables, sometimes revealing traces of a language now practically defunct.[2]

1. B. Bhattacharyya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*, (Calcutta, 1958), p. 220.

2. *Ibid.*

Uṣṇīśavijayā, Jāṅgulī, Parṇaśabarī and Cundā are among the popular *dhāriṇī* deities in whose honour not only the *sādhanas* had been composed but who were also represented in the art.

Cundā, the very embodiment of the *dhāriṇī* work *Cunda-dhāriṇī*, is found referred to under the name of Cundrā as early as the 2nd century A.D. in the *Āryamañjuśrīmūla-kalpa*. She has also been mentioned as Cundavajrī in the *Guhyasamājatantra*, a Tantric work, written in the time of Asaṅga in c. 4th century A.D. Cundā also figures in the *Sikṣāsamuccaya* of Śāntideva in the 7th century A.D. and her representations are also to be found in the illuminated *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā* manuscript of the early 11th century A.D.

According to the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, Cundā is affiliated to the Dhyāni Buddha Vairocana, and as such regarded as his spiritual daughter.[3] One of the *sādhanas* in the *Sādhana-mālā*, however, mentions about the presence of the Dhyāni Buddha Vajrasattva on her crown (*Vajrasattva-mukuṭā*).[4] The goddess Cundā is usually represented with four arms. She may also possess as many as twelve, sixteen, eighteen or even twentysix arms. Even two-armed form of the goddess is not unknown.[5] Besides being described as one of the *maṇḍala*-companions occupying the petals of the eight directions around the Buddhist goddess Kurukullā in one of the *sādhanas*,[6] there are three independent *sādhanas* in the

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3. *Ibid.*
4. *Sādhanamālā*, I, pp. 270-73 (*sādhana* no. 130).
5. *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, p. 57 (*Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara Maṇḍala*: *Maṇḍala* no. 21).
6. *Sādhanamālā*, II, p. 352 (*sādhana* no. 174).

Sādhanamālā devoted to the worship of the goddess Cundā. According to the *sādhanas* in the *Sādhanamālā,* the four-armed Cundā is of the colour of the autumn moon (*śaraccandrābhā*), wearing all sorts of ornaments and showing *varada-mudrā* by the right hand and carrying a lotus with a book in the left,[8] the other two holding a bowl. In one of the *sādhanas*, she has been specifically mentioned as single-faced,[9] while in the other, she is noted as seated in the *sattva-paryaṅkāsana* attitude.[10] Debala Mitra[11] has drawn our attention to two labelled representations of the four-armed Cundā, one in bronze from the collection in the Pao-hsiang Lou in Peking[12] and the other in the Chu Fo P'u-sa Sheng Hsiang Tsan,[13] both conforming to the *sādhanas*. However, none of the figures bears the effigy of Vajrasattva on the crown. The bowl (*pātra*) is placed on the palms exhibiting the *dhyāna-mudrā* and the book is placed on the lotus held in the lower left palm. Seated in the *paryaṅk-āsana* attitude, she displays *varada-mudrā* by her lower right palm. Another labelled representation with identical attributes in hands and a single face occurs in the Pantheon of three hundred figures composed by the Chang Chia Hutuku

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7. *Sādhanamālā*, I, pp. 270-73 (*sādhana* nos. 129, 130 and 131).

8. Cf. *Sādhanamālā*, I, pp. 270-73 : *Pustakāṅkitapadmadharā* (*sādhana* no. 129), *Pustakāṅkitapadmavāmabhujā* (*sādhana* no. 130) and *Pustakapadmadharā* (*sādhana* no. 131).

9. *Ibid., sādhana* no. 130.

10. *Ibid., sādhana* no. 131.

11. D. Mitra, *Bronzes from Achutrajpur, Orissa* (Delhi, 1978), pp. 117 ff.

12. W. E. Clark, *Two Lamaistic Pantheons,* II (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1937), p. 22, No. 6 B 60.

13. *Ibid.*, p. 284, No. 240.

Lalitavajra.[14] In this representation as well, the goddess Cundā is seated in the *vajraparyaṅka* attitude and the figure of Vajrasattva is conspicuous by its absence on the crown. A. K. Gordon has published a bronze image seated in the *vajraparyaṅka* posture and holding identical attributes.[15]

The *sādhana*, referred to by Getty,[16] describes the form of the goddess Cundā with four arms, as red in colour, with upper hands holding the rosary and the book, while the lower ones are in the 'meditation' *mudrā* and hold the vase. She has a sweet expression.

Getty mentions that Cundā with sixteen arms is warlike in appearance, and, besides the sword, hatchet, bow, arrow and thunderbolt, she also carries a rosary, lotus, vase, etc., and one of her hands may be in the 'charity' *mudrā*, while the original pair of hands are in the 'teaching' mudrā.[17]

The *Niṣpannayogāvalī* furnishes a description of the twenty-six armed form of the goddess Cundā in the Mañjuvajra-*maṇḍala*.[18] Moon-white in colour, she exhibits the

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14. *Bibliotheca Buddhica*, V (St. Petersburg, 1903), p. 53, no. 159.

15. A. K. Gordon, *The Iconography of Tibetan Lamaism* (New York, 1967), Illustration facing p. 74. The figure bearing the label of '*Āryā-Cundā Tārā*' in '*A New Tibeto-Mongol Pantheon*' (part 8, p. 51) is two armed and seated in the *vajraparyaṅkāsana* pose. In her left palm, held near the chest, is a lotus with a book on it; the object in the right palm, placed on the knee, is a fruit (?). Cf. D. Mitra, *op. cit.*, p. 118, fn. 3.

16. A. Getty, *The Goda of Northern Buddhism* (Oxford, 1928), p. 129.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 129.

18. *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, p. 49. Mañjuvajra here is the same as Vairocana. Cf. Bhattacharyya, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

chief *mudrā* by her two principal hands (which, according to Bhattacharyya,[19] may be regarded as the *cundamudrā,* much akin to the *dharmacakra-mudrā* displayed by the Dhyāni Buddha Vairocana, the spiritual father of Cundā). By her remaining right hands, she shows *abhaya-mudrā,* sword, garland of jewels, citron, arrow, axe, club, hammer, goad, thunderbolt, *tripatākā* and the rosary, while the remaining left ones have the flag marked with *cintāmaṇi* jewel, lotus, *kamaṇḍalu,* noose, bow, javelin, discus, sword, *tarjani* (raised index finger), bowl, *bhiṇḍipāla* and the *Prajñāpāramitā* scripture.

In the *Dharmadhātuvāgīśvara-maṇḍala,* Cundā is noticed as one of the twelve *dhāriṇī* deities, all two armed, holding in their right hand the *viśva-vajra* and in the left hand their own characteristic symbol.[20] The characteristic symbol in the left hand of the goddess is noted as *akṣasūtrāvalambita-kamaṇḍalu.* Her spiritual father is Amoghasiddhi. From this description, it is clear that the rosary and the *kamaṇḍalu* are the characteristic symbols (*sva-cinha*) of the goddess Cundā.[21]

In this regard, the evidence of a miniature painting of sixteen-armed Cundā, illustrated by Foucher,[22] is of consi-

19. *Ibid.,* p. 223. For further discussion on the chief-*mudrā* (*mūla-mudrā*), cf. D. Mitra, *op. cit.,* p. 119.

20. *Niṣpannayogāvalī,* p. 57 : *vāmena sagarvam sva-va-cinhabhṛtā.*

21. Bronze images of the Buddhist goddess Cundā from Achutrajpur are found holding the rosary and the *kamaṇḍalu* in the two upper hands, the principal hands being in the *dhyāna-mudrā* with a bowl on the right palm placed on the left cf. D. Mitra, *op. cit.,* pp. 120 ff.

22. A. Foucher, *Etude sur l'Iconographie bouddhique,* II (Paris, 1900), p. 199 (no. 51), pl. VIII.4.

derable interest. The painting appears in the illuminated Manuscript (No. Add. 1643) of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñā-pāramitā* (dated A.D. 1015), presently housed in the Library of the Cambridge University. It shows the goddess sixteen-armed, yellow in complexion, seated in the *vajra-paryaṅka* attitude on a lotus seat and exhibiting the *mudrā* which is much akin to, but not exactly, the *dharmacakra-mudrā* by the two principal hands, while the two lowermost hands appear to be in the *varada-mudrā* and the *abhaya-mudrā*. The remaining hands hold different kinds of objects, notable amongst them being the rosary, the book and the water-pot, besides a lotus seen above the topmost left hand holding the book. What renders the painting of special importance is the descriptive label *"Paṭṭikere Cundā-varabhavane Cundā"* (Cundā in the excellent temple of Cundā at Paṭṭikerā) attached to it which leaves hardly any doubt as to the identification of the goddess. Bhattasali[23] has identified the Paṭṭikerā temple with the ruins on the Lalmai hills, 8 kms. from Comilla, in the Tippera district, now included in Bangladesh. This particular painting is of immense value for it helps in the identification of several of the unidentified images of Cundā. One fact that emerges prominently with the study of the *sādhana* describing the twenty-six armed form of the goddess coupled with this painting is that the goddess exhibits a particular type of *mudrā* by her two principal hands which is much akin to, but not exactly, the *dharmacakra-mudrā*. Moreover, the painting suggests that the two lowermost hands of the god-

23. N. K. Bhattasali, *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculpture in Dacca Museum* (Dacca, 1929), pp. 10-11, pl. I.d; cf. also J. E. Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw's article entitled "The Paṭṭikera Chuṇḍā and variations of her image" in the *'Nalini Kanta Bhattasali Commemoration Volume'*, edited by A. B. M. Habibullah (Dacca, 1966), pp. 119–143.



Fig. No. 1

Bronze Image of Cundā, Nalanda
(Patna Museum, Arch. No. 8355)

(76-77)



Fig. No. 2
Bronze Image of Cundā, Nalanda
(Patna Museum, Arch. No. 8356)

dess may be exhibited in the *varada* and the *abhaya mudrās.* It also suggests that the goddess may carry a book as well as a rosary in her hands. The stone image of the sixteen-armed Cundā in the Baroda Museum is also of great importance for it as well shows the goddess with her principal hands forming the *mudrā* much akin to the *dharmacakra-mudrā* and the lowermost hands exhibiting the *varada* and the *abhaya* poses.[24] She shows the sword, *ḍamaru*, knife, broken, hammer, garland of jewels in her remaining six right hands and the discus, bell, noose, dagger, goad and arrow in the remaining six left ones. And so also the stone image of Cundā from Niyamatpur in the Rajshahi district, now housed in the Rajshahi Museum, has the principal hands of the goddess arranged in the typical *mudrā* resembling considerably the *dharmacakra-mudrā.*[25] The goddess in this instance is, however, eighteen-armed.

The Manuscript of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā* also contains another representation of goddess Cundā. She has been four-armed, red in complexion and labelled as '*Lāhtadeśe Vuṃkarānagare Cundā*'.[26] In this instance, the four-armed goddess sits again in the *vajraparyaṅka* attitude and carries a book and a rosary in her upper right and upper left hands respectively, the remaining two hands being in the *dhyāna-mudrā* with a bowl held in them. Another four-armed representation of the goddess with identical attributes in the palms occurs in the Manuscript (No. A 15), now housed in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.[27]

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24. B. Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*

25. R. C. Majumdar, *History of Bengal,* Vol. I (Dacca University, 1943), p. 473, pl. XXVI.64.

26. A. Foucher, *op. cit.,* pp. 144, 145 and 200 (no. 58), pl. VIII.3.

27. *Ibid.,* p. 213 (no. 32).

In this example, the goddess is yellow in complexion. There is no descriptive label attached to it. It is thus evident, as already noticed earlier, that the goddess may also hold the book and the rosary in her two upper hands.

The Patna Museum is in possession of four bronze images from Nalanda[28] which represent a female deity, four-armed and seated in the *vajraparyaṅka* attitude on a lotus seat. The goddess holds a rosary in her upper right hand in three of the specimens,[29] the upper right hand of the remaining image,[30] which may have held the rosary, being broken, while in the upper left hand she carries a lotus by its stalk with a book placed upon it in three cases.[31] In the fourth instance,[32] the objects held in the upper left hand appear to be a string and a book which may presumably have been a book on a lotus stalk. While the lower right hand of the goddess is displayed in the *varada-mudrā* in all the four images, her lower left hand is placed upon the seat with a bowl or cup-like object in it. These images have been catalogued in the Catalogue of the Patna Museum under the name of the goddess Prajñāpāramitā[33] (Figs. 1—4). No doubt, the four-armed form of Prajñāpāramitā, the Buddhist goddess of learning, holds a rosary and a book-on-lotus in the two upper hands; but she is never to be represented as displaying the *varada-mudrā* by the lower right hand and carrying a bowl in the lower left resting on the seat. Prajñāpāramitā almost invariably displays the *dharma-*

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28. P. M. Arch. Nos. 8355, 8356, 8441 and 8442.

29. P. M. Arch. Nos. 8355, 8356 and 8442.

30. P. M. Arch. No. 8441.

31. P. M. Arch. Nos. 8355, 8356 and 8441.

32. P. M. Arch. No. 8442.

33. P. L. Gupta, *Patna Museum Catalogue of Antiquities* (Patna, 1965), p. -22.



Fig. No. 3
Bronze Image of Cundā, Nalanda
(Patna Museum Arch. No. 8441)



Fig. No. 4

Bronze Image of Cundā, Nalanda
(Patna Museum, Arch. No. 8442)

cakra-mudrā, may her form be two, four or multi-armed.[34] In view of the lower hands being not represented in the *dharmacakra-mudrā,* which is the usual gesture of Prajñāpāramitā,[35] the goddess represented by the four Nalanda bronzes cannot be identified as the goddess Prajñāpāramitā. A much similar bronze image from Kurkihara, again in the Patna Museum,[36] represents the goddess seated in the *vajraparyaṅka* attitude on a single lotus placed over a *triratha* pedestal. The goddess is holding a rosary in her upper right hand and a book-on-lotus in the upper left. While she shows *varada-mudrā* by her lower right hand, she has a bowl in the lower left hand resting on the lap. The image, a gift from the son of the goldsmith Keśava, is dated in the 31st year of the Pāla ruler Mahipāla, and, as such, it belongs to the first half of the 11th century A.D. The figure has been regarded as that of the goddess Cundā by K. P. Jayaswal.[37] The four bronzes from Nalanda in the Patna Museum, on comparison with the Kurkihara bronze image and with the paintings occurring in the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā-Prajñāpāramitā* Manuscript, may, therefore, also be taken as representing the Buddhist goddess Cundā, and not Prajñāpāramitā. This goddess Cundā, as pointed out by Kempers,[38] has the same attributes as the bronzes from Nalanda have in the upper hands; but the front hands are to be shown in the *dhyāna-mudrā.* The bronzes of Nalanda in the Patna Museum do not quite conform to this rule; but, following

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34. A. Getty, *op. cit.,* p. 131; N. K. Bhattasali, *op. cit.,* p. 42.

35. A. J. B. Kempers, *The Bronzes of Nalanda and Hindu-Javanese Art,* (Leiden, 1933), p. 43.

36. P. P. Arch. No. 9696; cf. P. L. Gupta, *op cit.,* p. 149.

37. *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art,* Vol. II, 1934, pl. XXXIV.2.

38. A. J. B. Kempers, *op. cit.,* p. 43.

Professor Krom, he has identified such images with the Buddhist goddess Cundā.[39]

There is also an eighteen-armed bronze image of the goddess Cundā from Nalanda in the Patna Museum.[40] She is represented as seated cross-legged on a lotus pedestal with the central pair of her hands being arranged in the form of the *mudrā* much akin to the *dharmacakra-mudrā*. While the remaining of her eight right hands display *abhaya-mudrā,* broken, an indistinct object, *vajra,* discus, mace, dagger and rosary, one of her left hands has a water-vessel in it, all the other remaining left hands being broken. So also the halo at the back of the image is lost. It may, however, be noted that the typical hand pose exhibited by the two principal hands distinguishes the image as representing the goddess Cundā (Fig. 5).

39. *Ibid.,* pp. 43-44.

40. P. L. Gupta, *op. cit.,* p. 123, pl. XXVI (P. M. Arch. No. 8367).



Fig. No. 5

Bronze Image of Cundā, Nalanda

(Patna Museum, Arch. No. 8367)

ELUCIDATION OF THE SALIENT FEATURES OF THE SVARITĪYA UDĀTTA

SUKHESHWAR JHA

Bhagalpur

The *Svaritīya Udātta,* distinct from the *Sāmānya Udātta,* is peculiar in itself so as to be enumerated separately by the Mahā-*bhāṣyakāra* Patañjali. Whenever an *Udātta* or equally powerful accent follows the *Svarita,* the co-existent *Anudātta* portion of the *Svarita* in the same locus becomes apprehensible, the *Udātta* portion of the Svarita becoming qualified by the co-existent *Anudātta.* By *Svarite ya udāttaḥ so'nyena viśiṣṭaḥ* (1.2.33), Patañjali means *anudāttenoparaktaḥ* and not as "different from the general *Udātta*".

It is an established fact that the locus in which both the attributes, viz., udātta and anudātta combine together, is termed as svarita.[1] This co-existent udātta residing in association with the anudātta in the self same substratum is distinct from the general udātta. For, upon this udātta there remains the colour of the co-existent anudātta. This is why the author of the *MB.* (Mahābhāṣya) has accepted it as an independent entity.[2]

It is well known that the udātta is a forceful effort. Under the mighty influence of the preceding co-existent udātta, therefore, the subsequent co-existent anudātta does not remain always in the position of making itself manifest

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1. *Udāttaḥ udāttaguṇaḥ anudātto'nudāttaguṇaḥ, ya idānīmubhayaguṇaḥ sa tṛtīyāmākhyamlabhate svarita iti, MB.* 1.2.31.

2. (a) ..., *svarite ya udāttaḥ so'nyenaviśiṣṭaḥ.* MB. 1.2.33;

(b) *anudāttenoparaktaḥ yathā śuklaḥ paṭo varṇāntarayuktena dravyeṇetyarthaḥ*—Pradīpa, *ibid.*

F. 11

everywhere.[3] But whenever udātta itself or the other, equally powerful accent follows the svarita, then the sphere of the influence of the svaritīya-udātta is restricted within the limit of its own. So in that event only the anudātta portion of the svarita becomes apprehensible.[4] This is the fact, that is, the perceptibility of the anudātta section of the svarita, in the peculiar situation[5] adverted to supra, which makes the initial portion i.e. the udātta portion of the svarita, felt as qualified by the co-existent anudātta. Peculiarity of this kind of udātta was so acute as to pave the way for its separate enumeration by the author of the *MB*.

One thing towards which the advertence of scholars is specially to be drawn is as follows. The expression *svarite ya udāttaḥ so'nyena viśiṣṭaḥ* occurs in the *Mahābhāṣya* (1.2.33). The portion "so'nyena viśiṣṭaḥ" of the expression referred to above, has been rendered in Hindī under bracket by Shri Yudhisthira Mimamsaka (YM) in his *Vaidika-svara-mīmāṃsā* (*VSM*.1/12) as *anya udātta se bhinna* signifying different from the general udātta. The accuracy of this translation is liable to be questioned. Had it been so as Mr. YM. has understood, then the Mahābhāṣyakāra would have expressed it in the words like=*so'nyasmād bhinnaḥ,* in stead of *so'nyena viśiṣṭaḥ*. In conformity to the author of the *MB*. the word *anya* has its reference with the anudātta in the present context. But the significance shown by Mr. YM. is not in harmony with the view of Patañjali. For, in the opinion of YM the word *anya* comes to be related to the general udātta. This is a great difference between

3. *Anyatra tūdāttaśrutiḥ* – *Siddhāntakaumudī* (=*SK*.) 1.2.32 (This is based on the *RPr*–3/3/viz. *anudāttaḥ paraḥ śeṣaḥ sa udāttaśrutiḥ* ...).

4. *tasya codāttasvaritaparatve śravaṇaṃ spaṣṭam*. SK. ib.

5. *udātta-svaritaparatve ityarthaḥ*. Udyota 1.2.33.

the real meaning and the meaning presented by YM. The accurate rendition of the portion of expression under review is *anudāttenoparaktaḥ*.

It deserves mention that owing to the co-existence with the anudātta in a single locus the svaritīya-udātta portion was considered to be qualified by another element (anudātta).[6] But it is remarkable that in an identical way it was not deemed fit to say that (on the basis of the selfsame co-existence in the same substratum), the svaritīya anudātta portion is qualified by another element (udātta). The reason appears this : The anudātta portion of a scarita is totally suppressed by the co-existent udātta if and when the svarita in question is not followed by a powerful accent.[7] In case of occurrence of a syllable possessed of a mighty effort immediately after the svarita syllable, the subsequent portion of svarita (being followed) is apprehended as the locus of either an anudātta[8] or a sannatara accent.[9] Both of these accents have already been included in the list of the names of accents and thus to them has been accorded the special status.[10] Consequently, as the situation stands there was no need nor the possibility of the aforesaid saying,[11] with reference to the co-existent anudātta in the locus of a svarita attribute.

6. *udāttasvaritaparatve.* Udyota 1.2.33.

7. *anudāttaḥ paraḥ śeṣaḥ sa udāttaśrutirnacet/*
udāttaṃ vocyate kiñcit svaritaṃ vākṣaraṃ param // *RPr.* 3.3.

8. *uttarārdhantu pariśeṣād anudāttam.* *SK.* 1.2.32.

9. *anantaro vā nīcaistarām—Tai. Pr.* 1.44.

10. Names of seven accents have been enumerated in the *MB.* on 1.2.33.

11. Inasmuch as it either loses its entity or is perceived as anudātta.

One might say that the slightly modified form of the aforementioned quotation from the *MB*. serves the selfsame purpose which is intended to be served by a *svarita*. Inasmuch as it is an acknowledged fact that the svarita is nothing but an udātta with more or less colour of an anudātta upon it. Consequently it seems to be unnecessary to enumerate svarita as a separate entity in addition to what is under review. It is sufficient to say—*anyoparakta udātta* instead of "svarita". But a critical examination of the situation reveals it that this is not the real fact. It is apparent in a number of cases of svarita that the colour of the anudātta upon the svaritīya udātta is not apprehended.[12] Then in those occurrences the udātta alone is all in all, not in the shape of the pure udātta but in a peculiar form technically called svarita which is actually a conglomeration of two attributes viz. udātta and anudātta in the same locus. It has, therefore, the peculiarity of its own which properly demands its separate mention in the list of the subdivisions of the accent in Sanskrit. It's why the author of the *MB*. has mentioned it apart and aloof from the other varieties of accent.[13]

Thus it is proved that the svarita and the svaritīya udātta are distinct ones although there is no denying of the fact that in spite of special status of svaritīya udātta grounded on its distinct nature, it does not go itself beyond the purview of the accent called svarita.

What emerges out from the above discussion is this. It does not admit of doubt or denial that svarita consists of

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12. In all those cases where svarita is not followed by udātta or svarita, such as अग्निम् ईं॑ळे et seq.

13. *kasyacit tu svaritasya udāttabhāgo nānudāttenānurajyate iti pṛthak svarito nirdiṣṭaḥ. Pradīpa* on 1.2.33. See also *Udyota, ibid.*

both the udātta and anudātta attributes in its loci. But so far as the perceptibility is taken into consideration, the udātta with the colour of the co-existent anudātta is not relevant to all and sundry cases of occurrence of svarita. There are two sorts of svaritas (or circumflexes), viz., (i) that which takes its rise from such an anudātta which occurs with close immediacy after an udātta[14] (or acute e.g.. देवयं etc. *RV*. 1.1.1.) and is liable to be converted again into a sannatara one[15] by force of a mighty accent occurring just subsequent to it (e.g. ईड्यः नूतनैः in Padapāṭha become ईड्यो नूतनै in the Saṃhitāpāṭha, svarita of 'ḍya' being converted into sannatara-*RV*. 1.1.2) and (ii) that which maintains its position in the situation whatsoever.[16] Both of these aforesaid types of svaritas can manifest themselves in their genuine character if and when followed by none (e.g. रामस्यं etc.) or by ekaśruti (e.g. अग्निमीळे etc.). But the svaritīya udātta which is under consideration is mainly related to the latter variety of the svarita referred to above especially on the occasion when it is itself followed by a mighty accent—the udātta[17] or the svarita[18] ones.

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14. *udāttādanudāttasya svaritaḥ* *Aṣṭādhyāyī* (*A*) 8.4.66.
15. *nodāttasvaritodayam agārgyakāśyapagālavānām*—*A*. 8.4.47 *udāttasvaritaparasya sannataraḥ*. *A*. 1.2.40.
16. Enjoined by ṭitsvaritam (*A*.6.1.185) and *A*.8.2.4, 5 & 6.
17. ववे वोऽन्दाः —*SK*. on *A*. 1.2.32.
18. यों, ह्यः —*ibid*.

INDRA AS A SYNONYM OF CLOUD *

DR. SUDARSHAN KUMAR SHARMA

Bhatinda

The author, in this paper, tries to prove that Indra stands for rain-cloud throughout the Vedic and Classical Sanskrit literature. *Indu* means *Soma-drop* which is nothing else but water. *Indra* thus means "one having drops of water", that is *megha*.

According to Dr. Deo Prakash Patanjala Sastri, the Brāhmaṇa texts are responsible for the wrong interpretation of the Vedas which have nothing to do with the sacrificial ritual which was actually developed by the authors of the Brāhmaṇas. This is proved by the existence of comments and contemplations on the Veda mantras of which glimpses are found in the Brāhmaṇas themselves. The main object of the Veda according to him, is to explain the process of creation and the occurrence of the various natural phenomena. In other words, Veda is a repository of the scientific knowledge and truth".[1]

In view of this contention it is very easy to understand that the deities described in the *Ṛgveda* and elaborated in the other Vedas represent the forces of nature that effected the human being in his daily activities and growth of personality. What in modern times is believed to be the providence was recognised as the working of the forces of nature which either propelled or hampered the activities of the

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1. *A critical study of the Ṛgveda,* I.137—163, p. 40.

created beings. Hence there arose the necessity of invoking these forces by recognising them in some form or the other. An attempt is made in this paper to interpret Indra as a synonym of cloud as inherited from the Vedas down to the texts of the classical writers. To illustrate my point in favour of my contentions I shall have to take up the case of Agni and other deities interpreted on the same lines by different Scholars.

Dr. Ram Gopal while commenting on the expression *Jāraḥ Kanīnāṃ*[2] as an epithet of Yama has interpreted Yama as the sun, lover or consumer of maidens symbolising dawns.[3] He has refuted the arguments of Yāska, Veṅkaṭa-Mādhava, Skandasvāmin, Sāyaṇa who interpret Yama as Agni. In the Āprī-hymn,[4] Agni has been associated with Indra, Tvaṣṭā, Vanaspatiḥ, etc. and has been called *ghṛtavān, madhumān, Yatasruc* etc. Taken literally these expressions will mean—"One possessed of ghee", "one possessed of honey" and "one having raised the ladle", all referring to the material of the sacrifice. This hymn has been construed by Dr. Patanjala Sastri as follows :—

Agni is well kindled in the middle region and with the ladle i.e. the water producing substance, he kills the demon 'Cloud' that does not rain. *Ghṛtavantaṃ* has been construed by him as 'having heat and light' and '*madhumantaṃ* as 'having water' etc.[5]

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2. *Ṛgveda,* I.66.8.

3. Vishveshvarananda Indological paper series 132, Vol. III Pt. I, March 1965, pp. 13—16.

4. *Ṛgveda,* I.142.1-13, p. 111.

5. *RV.,* 1.142, Satvalekar pp. 382—285.

'Vanaspati'[6] has been construed by him to mean 'Agni'. Yāska has enlisted the word *'Vana'* in the synonyms of water (*Nighaṇṭu* 1.12) as well as those of ray (Raśmi, *Nigh* 1.5).[7] *Ṛgveda* I.162, I, 163, (the socalled Aśvamedha hymns) contain *vājin, Sapti* and *Arvan* as synonyms of 'Aśva'. 'Pūṣan', 'Aja' and Chāga also occur along with them. The hymn 163 gives *Samudra* (middle region) or *Purīṣa* (water) as the birth place of 'Arvan'.

Indra is said to have mounted the *arvan*. The Vasus fashioned the Aśva from the Sun (*RV*.I.163.2). *Arvan* is called 'Yama' (Agni, Āditya) and is said to have three connections in heaven, there in the waters and there in the middle region (*RV*., I.163.3.4). He is *hiraṇyaśṛṅga* (golden horned) (*RV*., I.163.9). The Aśvas are said to fly in rows like the swans. On the basis of these facts Dr. Patanjala Sastri has proved that *Aśva, Arvan* and *Vājin* are not the names of an animal but refer to something extra-terrestrial i.e. the Sun or the rays of the Sun.[8] The horse-sacrifice came into vogue in India and other countries on the basis of the misconstrual of these hymns.[9] Dr. Patanjala has interpreted Soma—as water and Indra as electricity.[10] The Aśvamedha hymns have been described by him as referring to the formation of water with the help of the rays of the Sun.[11]

Indravāyū occurring in *RV*.I 139.1 has been construed

6. *RV*. I.13 iii 28.6.142.11, 188.10, II.323, III.8.3 V 5.10, 78, 5.

7. *A critical study of the Ṛgveda*, p. 34.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 36.

9. *Ibid.*, p. 34.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 34, 80.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 36.

as electric power and wind power respectively by Dr. Patanjala. He quotes Yāska who derives Indra variously as under :

"इरां दृणातीति वा, इरां ददातीति वा, इरां दधातीति वा इरां दारयत इति वा, इरां धारयत इति वा, इन्दवे द्रवतीति वा इन्दौ रमते इति वा इन्धे भूतानीति वा, तद् यत् एनं प्राणैः समैन्धन्त, तदिन्द्रस्येन्द्रत्वम्; [12] इति विज्ञायते इदं कारणात् इति आग्रायणः—इदं दर्शनात्, इति औपमन्यवः । इन्धतेर्वा ऐश्वर्यकर्मणः शत्रूणां दारयिता वा द्रावयिता वा आदरयिता च यज्वानाम् ।"[13]

The epithets *anūnaḥ,*[14] *Svarpatiḥ,*[15] *dyukṣaḥ,*[16] *viśvataspṛthu,*[17] *antarikṣapra,*[18] *Vibhu, dyumattamaḥ, citrabhānuḥ* etc. meaning all pervading master of the heaven, dwelling in heaven, extended throughout the Universe, pervading the mid-region etc. make Indra denote different natural phenomena in different contexts. He denotes electricity in *RV*.II.12.1, 3, 5.[19]

The shock of electricity is terrible and it is visible also. Conjointly invoked Indra and Vāyu are said to produce Soma i.e. water.[20] Indra, therefore, is electric power and

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12. *Nirukta,* X.8, pp. 175-176, Dr. Lakshman Sarup.
13. Ch. cp. 5.1.13.
14. *RV.,* VI.17.14.
15. *Ibid.,* VIII.97.11.
16. *Ibid.,* VI.24.1.
17. *Ibid.,* VIII.98.4.
18. *Ibid.,* I.52.2.
19. *RV.,* II.12.1, 3, 5.

    यो जात एव प्रथमो मनस्वान् etc.
    यो हत्वाहिमरिणात् सप्त सिन्धून् etc.
    यं स्मा पृच्छन्ति कुह सेति घोरम् etc.

20. *Ibid.,* I.2.4.

Vāyu is the wind power.[21] *Ṛgveda* I.139.6 is devoted to Indra exclusively and therein, too, Dr. Patanjala has construed him as a synonym of electricity.

"O Indra ! showerer of rains ! these (rain) drops, your own (*vṛṣa*) drink, have been produced by the clouds; they burst forth, (drops) that are produced burst forth for thee. They may gladden you for having produced great and wonderful riches. Praised by songs, O carrier of thunder come here, being benevolent, come to us."[22] Dr. Patanjala has taken *vṛṣa* to mean a cloud.[23] He has also taken *adri* as a synonym of *vṛṣa* i.e. a cloud in *adri-sutāsaḥ* i.e. pressed or produced by clouds.[24]

In the derivation of Yāska[25] Acharya Bhagavaddatta has construed *irā* as 'anna' i.e. food, as well as 'earth'. He translates the passage of Yāska as under :—

"That which rends asunder the earth or food, or that which gives to the earth, supports the earth or runs for Soma, revels in Soma, makes luminous the beings or enlivens them, and that which is enlivened with life-force is the Indradom of Indra, this is the special significance. *Indati* has a meaning about 'affluence' ; *indau* revelling affluence ; the destroyer (lit. severer) of the enemies or one who makes the enemies flee; one who bestows importance and one belonging to the sacrificers".[26]

Acharya Bhagavaddatta prefers 'earth' to 'food' as the

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21. *A critical study of the Ṛgveda,* pp. 88-81.
22. *RV.,* I.139.6.
23. *A critical study of the Ṛgveda,* p. 91.
24. *Ibid.,* p. 92.
25. See 14 above.
26. *Nirukta Śāstra,* p. 520.

meaning of *irā*. Earth gets torn asunder by the 'Vaidyut' deeds of Indra. Earth is given to man after it gets expanded. Indra even supports the earth. The refulgent lustre encompassing the wind is Indra. It infuses life-force into the breath. Breath is the source of effulgence".[27]

But according to Dr. V. S. Agrawal *irā* is also a synonym of water. That which is the inexhaustible quarry of waters is *Irāvān*.[28] According to Amarasiṃha—[29]

"इरा भूवाक्सुराऽप्सु स्यात्तन्द्री निद्राप्रमीलयोः।"[२९]

According to Mallinātha—

"इरा आपः। इरावान् समुद्रः तत्र भवः ऐरावतोऽभ्रमातङ्गः। अत एव मेघारोहणं विद्युत्साहचर्यं च घटते।"[३०]

irā according to Amarasiṃha is a synonym of 'earth', 'speech', 'wine' and 'waters'. According to Mallinātha also it means 'Waters'. One possessed of waters is the ocean. Born in that is 'Airāvata' the cloud-tusker. Hence the appearance of cloud in association with lightning is a feasible proposition.

In *Pratijñāyaugandharāyaṇa* (Act III), *Airāvaṇa* as a synonym for *Airāvata* has been used by Bhāsa intentionally to assert the significance of cloud tusker (the Abhramātaṅga of Amarasiṃha).[31]

"आम्[32] ऐरावणोऽहम्। न खलु देवराजो मामासनमारोहति। श्रुतं च मया पादपाशिकैरिन्द्रो बद्ध इति। धारानिगलैः विद्युन्मयीभिः कशाभिस्ताडयित्वा वातोद्भ्रामेण परिभ्रमता भिद्यते मेघबन्धनम्।[33]

27. *Ibid.*, pp. 520—521.
28. *Meghadūta*, p. 21, 1971, Edition.
29. *Amarakośa* 3.175.
30. Sañjīvanī to *Raghuvaṃśa*—I.36

    Also *Meghadūta*, p. 22. प्रावृषेण्यं पयोवाहं विद्युदैरावताविव॥
31. "ऐरावतोऽभ्रमातंगैरावणाभ्रमुवल्लभाः।" *Amarakośa*, 1.49.
32. P. 111, edited by myself and published by Messers Moti Lal Banarsi Dass, Delhi.
33. "Yes, I am Airāvaṇa. Devarāja (lit.—the king of gods

"According to Sir Monier Williams Indra is derived from *ind,* to drop, connected with 'indra', the god of the atmosphere and sky".[34]

The following mantras from the *Ṛgveda* and *Sāmaveda* further prove the fact that Indra occurs in Sanskrit literature as a synonym of cloud by virtue of his traits that symbolise him as a visual force of nature.

Ṛgveda II.12.13-14[35] proclaim Indra as a mighty force that makes heaven as well as the earth bow before it. The mountains fear it. Indra is the Soma-drinker, bolt-bearer etc. He protects him who presses Soma, him who tills the soil (*Pacantaṃ*), him who praises him and him who keeps active, through protection *(ūtī)*. Spell is his augmentor. Soma belongs to him. He is possessed of munificence or power. He, O men, is Indra".

It is the cloud that pervades the earth as well as the atmosphere through showers. The cloud is mighty enough

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i.e. Indra) does not mount me, his vehicle. I have heard, moreover, that Indra has been captured by the foottrammels of the hangsmen. Then flagelliating by the lashes made of lightning to checkmate the torrents and whirring with the whirling wind the dam of clouds is being devastated.

34. *Skt.-Eng.-Dictionary,* p. 166.

35 द्यावा चिदस्मै पृथिवी नमेते शुष्माच्चिदस्य पर्वता भयन्ते ।
यः सोमपा निचितो वज्रबाहुर्यो वज्रहस्तः स जनास इन्द्रः ।
यः सुन्वन्तमवति यः पचन्तं यः शंसन्तं यः शशमानमूती ।
यस्य ब्रह्म वर्धनं यस्य सोमो यस्येदं राधः स जनास इन्द्रः ।।

to smite even the mountains with its thunder-bolt. Soma or water is its food. It drinks water; it is saturated with water or Soma plant of spirituous essence; provides food to the cloud through the process of evaporation in so far as it is a conglommeration of smoke (or vapours) fire or light, water and wind.[36] Vapours flown from the green plant and carried by breeze freeze into water which finally condensed into clouds showers forth rain as a point of reciprocity which constitutes its bounty. Lightning and thunder form its close associates and therefore, Indra or cloud is the wielder of bolt. Cloud protects the Soma plant by the process of irrigation or even augments waters (Soma) by pouring more into them. It rains for him who invokes or praises and it helps him who keeps active or leaps (*Śaśamānaṃ*) i.e. the wind by virtue of the purification through showers. It is bounteous or munificent as illustrated by Kālidāsa also.

> " Acquisition of charity is meant for bestowal in a reciprocal way as is the case with both the clouds as well as the magnanimous being".[37]

It is powerful because it renders the earth fertile and overgrown with mushroom sprouts and plants, the fructification of agriculture depends upon its mercy; it is capable of extinguishing the conflagrations by means of its showers removing thereby the evil of devastation marring the sylvan produce; it is lofty, it is a refuge of those who are tormented by heat; it is full of essence from inside and becomes unbearable by the breeze and it is at this stage that it rains

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36. धूमज्योतिः सलिलमरुतां सन्निपातः क्व मेघः ।
Meghadūta (Pūrvabhāga). M. R. Kale. Verse 5.

37. आदानं हि विसर्गाय सतां वारिमुचामिव ।
Raghuvaṃśa IV.86.

down showers, its fulness represents its heaviness or dignity.[38]

It is *vidyutvān*[39] or associated by lightning, is endowed with the rainbow (*Cāpa* or bow of Indra i.e. rain i.e. cloud), it is pleasant and sombre in tone, it carries water within and is lofty—all these constitute parallels presented by Kālidāsa in the true spirit of the *Ṛgvedic* interpretations as evinced according to the contexts in view.

In the *Sāmaveda,*[40] *indavaḥ*—the Soma-drops or the water-drops are vociferous when flowing quickly,[41] like mothers i.e. cows moving towards the calves quickly giving out loud lows; Soma or water has been prayed for associating with Indra, flowing with intoxication, getting purified and removing all impurities, it has been prayed to kill all the foes i.e. to obviate all the ills and cure all maladies; Soma or water flows quickly while getting purified moving in its

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38. (i) कर्त्तुं यच्च प्रभवति महीमुच्छिलीन्ध्रामवन्ध्याम् etc.
(ii) त्वय्यायत्तं कृषिफलमिति. . . त्वामासारप्रशमित–
वनोपप्लवं · · ·।
(iii) प्राप्ते मित्रे भवति विमुखः किं पुनर्यस्तथोच्चैः।
(iv) संतप्तानां त्वमसि शरणम् . . .।
(v) अन्तःसारं घन तुलयितुं नानिलः शक्ष्यति त्वाम्
रिक्तः सर्वो भवति हि लघुः पूर्णता गौरवाय ॥

Maghadūta ed. M. R. Kale, I, 11, 16, 17, 7, 21.

39. विद्युत्वन्तं, सेन्द्रचापं, स्निग्धगम्भीरघोषम्, अन्तस्तोयम्, तुङ्गम् etc.
उत्तर मेघ। I; p. 57.

40. "वाश्रा अर्षन्तीन्दवोऽभिवत्सं न धेनवः दधन्विरे गभस्त्योः ॥ जुष्ट इन्द्राय मत्सरः पवमान कनिक्रदत्। विश्वा अप द्विषो जहि।
RV., 9.13.7; *SV.*, 2.543.

41. *Skt.-Eng.-Dictionary,* Monier Williams.

courses on getting strained (through a strainer) hewing as-under the wind and Indra; Indra has been termed as *Īśāna*—a pervasive power endowed with activity or spryness, it is endowed with thousands of gifts or even more. Indra has been extolled as great with activity and has been parallelled or identified with 'Parjanya' or cloud full of rains or showers. Hence *Irāvān—Samudra* (Ocean or middle region both containing water particles) gives it thousands of gifts (*rātayaḥ*) in the form of *irā* i.e. waters and makes it *irāvān* i.e. cloud which is Airāvata and Indra. In classical tradition *Airāvata* as the elephant of Indra occurs quite frequently. But both being the two different aspects of the same phenomenon have been interpreted as the person and his vehicle due to Paurāṇic mode of legendary illustration.

Dr. V. S. Agrawal quoting from *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* takes *Abhra* to be the ashes of waters (*abhraṃ vā apāṃ bhasma*). Quoting from *Chāndogyopaniṣad* (5.17) he takes smoke to be the primary stage of cloud which assuming the garb of *abhra* turns into *megha* which showers forth water. Smoke saturated with water becomes *abhra* which when flown to the sky becomes *megha* bearing capacity of spraying (*mehana*). Because of its taking birth from the ocean containing waters (*irāvān*) it is given the name of *Airāvata* and owing to its capacity of consuming waters within, it is baptised as *abhra,* the latter assuming the significance of 'sky' in classical literature.[42] Hence if Abhra and *Airāvata* can represent the two variant aspects of the same phenomenon, being the two synonyms of the same physical aspect of nature, why can't we justify the point that *Indra* and *Airāvata* are the synonyms representing the same phenomenon i.e. *megha* or rain-cloud. Hence *Abhra*, *Indra* and *Airāvata* should be treated as synonyms.

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42. *Meghadūta,* V. S. Agrawal, edited 1971, p. 22.

Kālidāsa in his *Raghuvaṃśa* has illustrated the point in a couple of instances. As for example in I.36[43] he has compared Dilīpa and Sudakṣiṇā moving in one chariot giving out sweet and sombre creaking sound, to cloud and lightning (Airāvata and Vidyut) moving about in the sky of the rainy season resonant with sweet and sombre rumblings. Traditionally construed *paypvāhaṃ* occurs as cloud while *Airāvata* occurs as tusker of the rain-god.

Hence *payovāha* construed as *megha* by others has been construed as *Ākāśa* by me in opposition with *abhra* construed as *megha* as well as *ākāśa* in earlier and later literature. *Vidyut* or lightning having better connection with *megha* than with the elephant of Indra *(Vidyutvantam lalitavanitā)*.[44] Kālidāsa has further strengthened our argument in favour of Indra construed as cloud in *Raghuvaṃśa* (XII.5), wherein he has compared Kaikeyī the terrific lady *(Caṇḍī)*) spouting forth the two boons already promised and sanctioned by her husband (Daśaratha) to the earth saturated by cloud (Indra) that forces out two serpents hidden deep into its hole.[45] *'Indraḥ phaṇijjake sāndre ghanakāmanayormadau iti. Viśvaḥ*[46] and *Indreṇa meghena siktābhivṛṣṭā*[47] of Mallinātha apparently prove Indra to be a

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43. स्निग्धगम्भीरनिर्घोषमेकं स्यन्दनमास्थितौ ।
प्रावृषेण्यं पयोवाहं विद्युदैरावताविव ।।

Raghuvaṃśa, 1.36.

44. *Meghadūta*—Uttarārdha—Verse, 1.

45. सा किलाश्वसिता चण्डी भर्त्रा तत्संश्रुतौ वरौ
उद्ववामेन्द्रसिक्ता भूर्बिलमग्नाविवोरगौ ।

Raghuvaṃśa, XII.5.

46. Commentary of Mallinātha.

synonym of Megha i.e. the cloud. Dr. A. A. Macdonell takes *Indra* for a *drop* of Soma.[47] In Vedic literature *Indu* in itself means the Soma-drop as evidenced by the Soma Sūkta. Soma has been construed by Yāska and other etymologists as water. It, therefore means the drop of water. The etymology of Indra, according to my interpretation would be इन्दवो रायो यस्य सः i.e., "that which has its riches for the Soma-drops or the drops of water", which automatically gives 'Indra' the variant sense of a "cloud".

47. *Vedic Reader*, (glossary).

EVOLUTION OF PURĀṆIC CONCEPT OF KINGSHIP

TAHSILDAR SINGH

Varanasi

While tracing the origin of the Purāṇic ideologies of kingship, the author locates the two streams of Vedic tradition. The king was elected but on contractual basis. Contrary to this, the Purāṇas propounded the theory of king's divine origin. A history-oriented study of the Purāṇas is necessary for knowing the historical development of Indian society.

The history of Hindu political speculation, similar to that of western world, shows a conflict and a culminating synthesis of several currents and counter currents of ideas, right from Vedic up to Purāṇic Age. In the earlier stages of Indian political speculation the sacerdotal influence was very great and politics was intimately connected with religion. Gradually as the horizon cleared, the ethical and social needs of man claimed greater attention and there came a tendency to look at the problem of polity independently. This took place in the same age which saw the metaphysical speculations relating to the universal phenomena, and the same amount of abstraction was directed towards the solution of socio-ethical problems. The influence of these is found in the speculations about the origin of sovereignty, the need of a king and the concept of a 'state of nature', which existed prior to the establishment of regal authority. Interestingly enough the Indian concept of a 'state of nature' has had its parallel in the modern European political thought, for, as we know, Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau all made it the basis of their political theories.

As the conceptions of Hobbes materially differed from those of Locke, ever so the two Indian concepts regarding

this 'natural condition' differed from each other. Hobbes' theory of a 'state of nature' is almost the same as we find in the 67th chapter of the *Śāntiparva* in *Mahābhārata* which regards the condition of man in a natural state, as one of war. The theory of Locke is nearly similar to that of the propounders of the *Dharma* ideal. In chapter 59, again, in formulating the importance of *Daṇḍa* as the basis of state, Hindu thinkers anticipated many of their brethren of the modern age.

There is a precisely noticeable difference despite this parallelism in development of political theories. While the westerners had a scientific sense, the Indians always wrote by a spiritual and religious bent of mind. In Indian mind, the divine agents remained ever-present and made the deepest impression to give a peculiar turn to Hindu polity. The diversity in social evolution also gave rise to certain principles which have exercised their influence even to-day. In the present democratic milieu it may seem improbable that monarchy was the most common or almost universal system in not only ancient India but in the whole world in olden days. The ancient Brahmanical literature of India is teeming with introductory references of kings, their geneology and episodes of their lives. The *Purāṇas* also are not the exception. The kingship, its origin and development with all its paraphernalia is very well mentioned in different *Purāṇas*.

Although all the major Purāṇas (*Mahāpurāṇas*) were composed within the range of 2nd c. to 10th c. A.D., it is desirable to trace a brief development of Hindu concept of kingship from Vedic period because Purāṇas are considered but the elaborations of *Vedas*[1] themselves. So while trying

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1. इतिहासपुराणाभ्याम् वेदं समुपबृंहयेत् ।

to study the Purāṇic ideologies of kingship the Vedas may be taken for granted as the source of the tradition.

According to the two streams of Vedic tradition relating to the origin of kingship—*i. e.* the episodes relating to *Manu Vaivasvat* and *Pṛthu Vainya,*[2] and the story of election of *Indra* as the leader and king of *Devas* in *Devāsura-saṅgrāma* stated in *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*[3]—the origin of king seems to be elective. Some other later works like *chāndogya Upaniṣad,* try to propound a contractual theory according to which the king is appointed and paid for his duties as a result of a contract. It was a contract from both sides. The people chose and appointed him as their leader for defeating the enemy, establishing peace and introducing and promoting agriculture and in the form of taxes paid his wages.[4]

Divine origin of king is accepted unanimously by all the *Purāṇas.* According to *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (13.31) *Pṛthu,* who came to rescue the people from anarchy, theft and loot etc. was an incarnation of *Viṣṇu* himself with a *cakra* on his right hand palm as cognizance. *Garuḍa Purāṇa* accredits *Brahmā*[5] with the origin of the king. *Manu-smṛti*[6] and *Mānava-dharma-śāstra*[7] also follow the same trend of tracing the origin of the king.

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2. *R.V.* I 36.10 and VIII 19.31.
3. *A.B.* I 14.
4. *R.V.* X 173.8 and *A.V.* IV 22.1.
5. ततो ब्रह्मात्मसंभूतं पूर्वस्वायम्भुवं प्रभुः ।।
आत्मानमेव कृतवान् प्रजापाल्ये मनुं हरः ।
१.५.१८.
6. तस्यार्थे सर्वभूतानाम् गोप्तारं धर्ममात्मजम् ।
ब्रह्मतेजोमयं दण्डमसृजत्पूर्वमीश्वरः ।। ७.१४.
7. अराजके ..... राजानमसृजत्प्रभुः ।। ७.३

The king was considered as one who caused for *dharma* and peaceful, righteous and prosperous life of the people. People did not harm one another due to the fear of king[8] because a man is basically of selfish nature who only minds his interests even at the cost of others. The idea of kingship was adopted for the happiness and defence from enemies[9] and as a result, the appellation *Rājā* was conferred upon the king.

Thus, it is clear that the theory of divine origin of kingship, described in the *Purāṇas* involved the incorporation of a deity in the king which implicitly charged the king with the obligation of protection.

Besides the king, other important institutions of monarchy also found a significant mention in several *Purāṇas*. The first and formost thing is the enumeration of the duties of a king after his royal anointment and crowning. In *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* (129—20.40), the grandmother of king *Marutta* reminds him that princes can enjoy themselves only until they are sprinkled on their heads the water of consecration (*abhiṣeka*). It further tells that kings should not be self-indulgent, they do not live in the world

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8. राजामूलो महाप्राज्ञ धर्मो लोकस्य लक्षते।
प्रजा राजभयादेव न खादन्ति परस्परम्॥
राजा ह्येवाखिलं लोकं समुदीर्णं समुत्सुकं।
प्रसादयति धर्मेण प्रसाद्य च विराजते॥
Mahābhārata, Śānti-Parva 68, 8-9.

9. (i) ततः स रञ्जयामास धर्मेण पृथिवीं तदा।
ततो राजेति शब्दोऽस्य पृथिव्या रञ्जनादभूत्।
Viṣṇu P. 47, 23-24.

(ii) प्रजानाम् रञ्जनाच्चैव राजानस्त्वभवन्नृपाः।
Vāyu P. 1, 57.

(iii) मित्रामरंजिता..... ह्यनुरागादजायत।
Brahmāṇḍa 2—36, 155-56.

for enjoyment but for protecting the earth and fulfilling their own duties, (dharma).[10] It, undoubtedly, causes great pain for him in this world but he enjoys everlasting peace in heaven. The same is repeated in *Agni Purāṇa* where the king is compared with a pregnant housewife. He has to care for the good of his subject as a lady cares for her child in the womb,[11] abandoning all his pleasures and joys. This is the instance for maximum help and service of the people. The sinful king who fails to fulfil his duties goes to hell. A Sage, cursing a king for failure to protect his injured wife, opines that *kṣatriyas* wield arms so that the very name of the afflicted may not be heard (*Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* 114.36).

The queen *Madālasā* instructs her son for the betterment of administration to behave like five deities viz. *Indra, Sun, Yama, Moon* and *Wind*. As *Indra* obliges the people by bestowing rain he should oblige the people granting them remissions ; as the Sun absorbs the water with his rays to rain for the welfare of people, he should collect taxes ; as Yama punishes the sinners with no descrimination he should behave impartially with his people whether his favourite or otherwise ; as Moon pleases all the human being he should please his issue ; as wind moves silently in the whole world he should appoint his spies throughout his territory.[12]

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10. राज्ञां शरीरग्रहणं न भोगाय महीपते ।
क्लेशाय महते पृथ्वी स्वधर्मपरिपालने ।।
Mārkaṇḍeya P. 130.33.

11. नित्यं राज्ञा तथा भाव्यं गर्भिणीसहधर्मिणी ।
यथा स्वं सुखमुत्सृज्य गर्भस्य सुखमावहेत् ।।
Agni P. 222.8.

12. *Mārkaṇḍeya* P. 27, 21–5.

In some early *Purāṇas* such as –*Harivaṃśa, Viṣṇu* and *Bhāgavata,* there is also an indication of limited monarchy, though the divine origin is accepted as such. There is a story of a cruel and tyrrant king (Vena) who abused the gods and claimed to be the god asking for all the sacrifices and offerings presented to the gods. He banned all the Vedic rituals in his regime. Therefore, the sages killed him and enthroned his son Pṛthu selected by *Brahmā,* as his successor.[13] This alludes to the control of sages over the kings for the righteous and judicious administration.

For ruling in accordance with the *dharma,* king was supplemented by and recommended to work in the tone of four *nītis* (*sāma dāna, daṇḍa* and *bheda*), and six *guṇas* (*Sandhi, Vigraha, āsana, Yāna, saṃsraya* and *dvaidhī-bhāva*) as moral and theoretical basis and in the practical form he was provided by the spies, army, ministers and so many other employees forming the whole machinary for the smooth administration subservient only to the king as their supreme head.

Vāyu Purāṇa, Agni Purāṇa, and *Ādipurāṇa* enumerate the four methods barely needed for a successful king.[14] These were required for tactful dealings of the friends, enemies and the people of his own state. It seems very likely that out of these the theory of *daṇḍa* was very much in practice. The word besides its primary meaning also conveys the meaning 'power to punish' and even a kind of

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13. इत्युक्त्वा मन्त्रपूतैस्तैः कुशैर्मुनिगणा नृपम् ।
निजघ्नुर्निहतं पूर्वं भगवन्निन्दनादिना ।।

Viṣṇu P. 1.13.19.

14. सामं चोपदानं च तथा भेदं च दर्शयन् ।
करोति दण्डपातं च........।

Vāyu P. 22.17.

immanant power of justice. Thus, it provides an allusion to the notion of legal force which was comparable with the monopoly of legitimate force. *Manu* and *Mahābhārata* have laid down a great emphasis on the need of *daṇḍa* in the state. *Mahābhārata* says if there is no king on earth with a stick of punishment, the stronger will roast the weaker and there will prevail *Matsya-nyāya* on the earth.[15] *Daṇḍa* has its origin in man's sin, and is likewise the divine remedy for man's sin (*Vāyu Purāṇa* 49.103). According to *Garuḍa Purāṇa daṇḍa* is the only merit of a *kṣatriya i. e.* a ruler,[16] which protects the people in a direct or indirect way. *Agni Purāṇa* adds three more methods viz. *upekṣā, indrajāla* and *māyā*.

Ādipurāṇa (5-7) also discusses the seven *aṅgas* of the state which seems to be derived from the *Arthaśāstra* of *Kauṭilya*. The state is complete only when it consists of all the seven elements or organs namely—*svāmī, amātya, rāṣṭra* or *janapada, durga, Koṣa, daṇḍa* or *bala* and *mitras*. Here *svāmī* is the king, *amātya* is his companions and ministers, *janapada* is the country, *durga* is the fortified town, *koṣa* is treasury, *daṇḍa* is army and *mitras* are the allying powers. The various elements of *Saptāṅga* theory are frequently mentioned in the *Purāṇas*. The *dūta, Dharmādhyakṣa, vaidya, purohita, guptacara* and *mantrins* are well discussed with their essential qualifications. The *Ādi Purāṇa* gives a description of a spy.[17]

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15. राजा चेन्न भवेल्लोके पृथिव्यां दण्डधारकः।
जले मत्स्यानि वा भक्ष्यन् दुर्वलं बलवत्तराः॥
Mahābhārata, Śānti-Parva 62.67.

16. *Garuḍa Purāṇa* 1.112, 8–24.

17. चक्षुश्चारो विचारश्च तस्यासीत्कार्यदर्शने।
चक्षुषी पुनरस्यास्य मण्डने दृश्यदर्शने॥
Ādi P. 4.170.

Thus a historical study of the *Purāṇas* is very much essential for understanding the historical development of Indian society. The political references also require a deep and exhaustive study. The priests always tried to capture the throne directly or indirectly on the name of *dharma*. As a result the king was considered as a divine body. The *Purāṇas* formulated a very interesting hypothesis and theory giving the base for divine origin of the king. We can see its consequent effect in the administrative machinery of the imperial Guptas. There was a time in the global history when the divine origin of king was accepted and established by the political thinkers and philosophers. The *Purāṇas* represent the theory and customs of the same ere. They provide a reflection of the stages in the evolution of political theories in ancient Indian Society.

SŪRYA-HARI-HARA-PITĀMAHA IMAGES FROM OSIAN

DEVENDRA HANDA
Chandigarh

The author in this paper throws light on the so far neglected three composite images of *Sūrya-Hari-Hara-Pitāmaha,* set up on the eastern walls of Viṣṇu temples in the Saciyā Mātā Temple complex at Osian. In all these, Sūrya occupies the Central position which may be due to their existence on the eastern wall. These images indicate the spread of syncretistic ideology even in the interiors of Rajasthana.

The Vedic concepts of *'Sa eṣa eka eva vṛdeka eva'* (He is One and the only One God),[1] *'Ekaṃ sadviprā bahudhā vadanti'* (The wise call that one by various names),[2] etc.[3] reflect the way of thinking of the Hindus who, though divided later in good number of sects, each having its own set of beliefs and observances, did not feel any religious acrimony among them and have emphasised, through the ages, the sentiment of the one eternally existing principle in different ways.[4] The *Upaniṣads,*[5] the *Bhagavadgītā and the*

1. *Atharvaveda,* XIII.4, 20.
2. *Ṛgveda,* I.164, 46.
3. *Ibid.,* I.114, 5 and X.82, 2.
4. B. N. Sharma, "*Purāṇic* Message of Religious Tolerance And Its Limitations", *Purāṇa,* Vol.XIII, No. 1 (Jan. 1971), p. 4.
5. *Aitareya Upaniṣad,* VIII.58, 2; X.114, 5; *Nṛsimhatāpan Upaniṣad, Uttara,* I.3, 9 etc.
6. *Ye'pyanyadevatā bhaktā yajante śraddhayānvitāḥ |*
   Te'pi māmeva Kaunteya yajantyavidhipūrvakam ||
   Bhagavadgītā, IX.23.

Purāṇas[7] show the persistence of this sentiment and the influence it exercised on the people.

The *Purāṇas,* wherein we find the development, growth and expansion of Hindu mythology, show a general tenor and tendency of broad toleration between the various sects of Hinduism.[8] The Hindu conception of Trinity, i. e., *Brahmā, Viṣṇu* and *Śiva,* represents the three functions, viz., the creation, preservation and destruction of the universe, of only one God.[9] How ultimately *Brahmā, Viṣṇu* and *Śiva* came to be regarded as the three manifestations of one and the same God has very beautifully been expressed in the following couplet—

Yo vai Viṣṇu sa vai Rudro yo Rudraḥ sa Pitāmahaḥ |
Eka mūrtistrayo devā Rudra-Viṣṇu-Pitāmahāḥ ||

i.e., He who is known as *Viṣṇu* (the preserver) is verily *Rudra* (the destroyer), and he who is *Rudra* is *Brahmā* (the creator, the grandfather). There is actually one entity which functions as three gods : *Rudra, Viṣṇu* and *Brahmā.*

As a result of the popularity of the *Saura* cult, *Sūrya,* the Sun, was also added to this trinity—

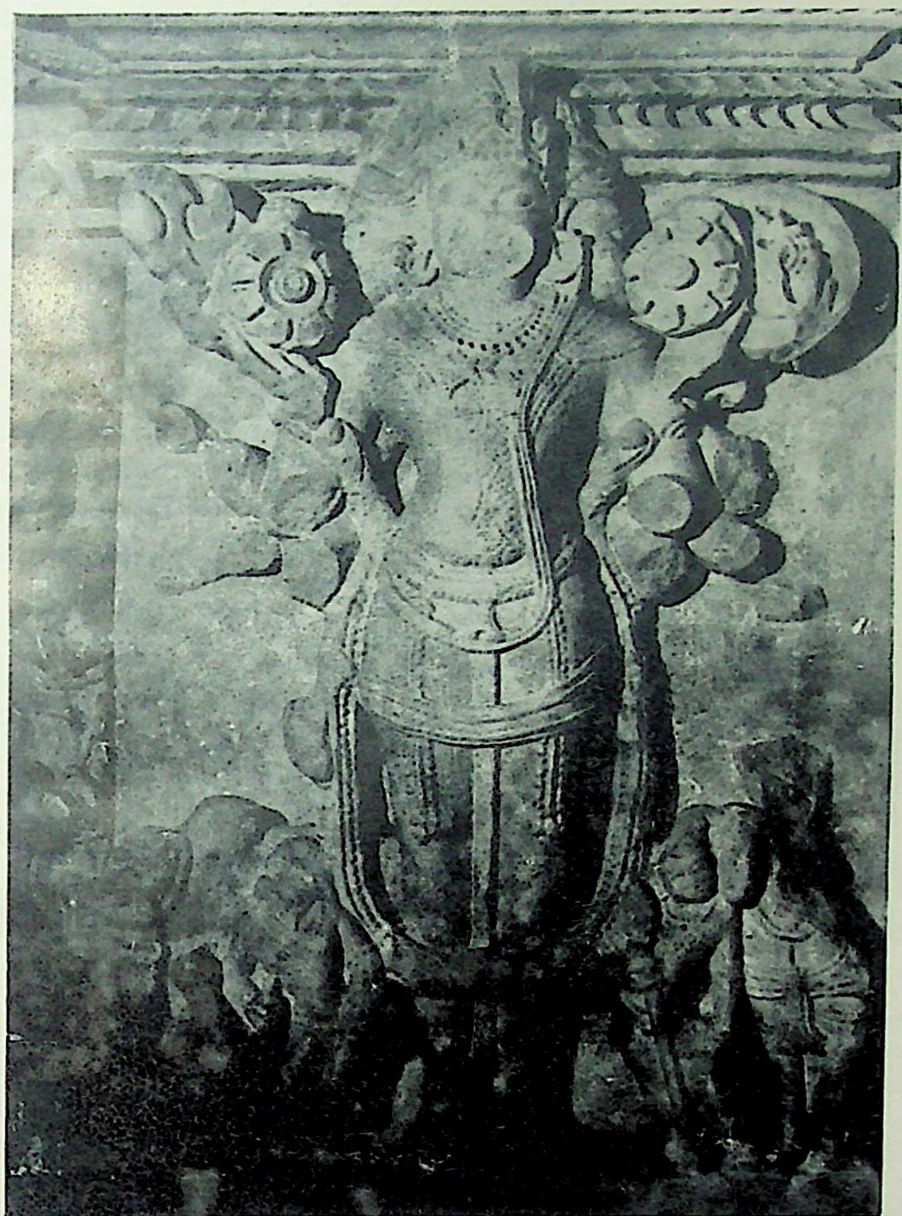
Brāhmī Māheśvarī caiva Vaiṣṇavī caiva te tanuḥ |

Tridhā yasya svarūpantu Bhānorbhāsvān prasīdatu ||

i. e., *Brahmā*'s, *Śiva*'s and *Viṣṇu*'s bodies are the same as the

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7. B. N. Sharma, *op. cit.,* pp. 4–25.
8. *Ibid.,* p. 5.
9. *Sṛṣtisthityantakaraṇīṃ Brahmā-Viṣṇu-Śivātmikām* |
Sa sañjñāṃ yāti bhagavāneka eva Janārdanaḥ ||
Viṣṇu Purāṇa, I.2, 66.



Sūrya—Hari-Hara-Pitāmaha

Fig. No. 1



Fig. 2
Sūrya-Hari-Hara-Pitāmaha

body of the resplendent Sun whose real nature is three-fold indeed, may he be gracious ![10]

In the domain of plastic art we see the evolution of composite images of *Harihara, Hariharapitāmaha* and *Hariharahiraṇyagarbha* or *Sūryahariharapitāmaha,* the last one displaying all the iconographic characteristics of *Sūrya, Viṣṇu, Śiva* and *Brahmā.* The process of synthesis, which had its origin in the form of *Harihara* images during the Kushan period, culminated in the *Hariharahiraṇyagarbha* images during the early medieval period, combining together almost all the prominent contemporary cults.[11]

Devatāmūrtiprakaraṇa,[12] a text written in Rajasthan, provides us the first reference to such composite images—

Ca'urvaktramaṣṭabāhuṃ catuṣkaikanivāsinam |
Ṛddhāmukhagataḥ kāryaḥ padmahastau Divākaraḥ |
Khaṭvāṅgatriśūlahasto Rudro dakṣiṇataḥ śubhaḥ |
Kamaṇḍaluṃ cākṣasūtramaparasthaḥ Pitāmahaḥ ||
Śaṅkhacakradharo Harirvāme caiva tu saṃsthitaḥ |

i. e., such a combined image should have four faces and eight hands ; *Sūrya,* holding a lotus in either hand should

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10. *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa,* Ch.109, i.e. 71. *Śāradātilaka* also identified *Sūrya* with *Brahmā, Viṣṇu* and *Śiva*—

Vadetpādaṃ caturthyantaṃ Brahmā-Viṣṇu-Śivātmakam |
Saurāya yogapīṭhāya namaḥ padamanantaram ||
Pīṭhamantro' yamākhyāto Dineśasya jagatpateḥ |
Śāradātilakam, Ch. XIV, vv. 41-2.

11. Kalpana Desai, *Iconography Of Viṣṇu,* New Delhi, 1973, pp. 50—57.

12. VI. vv. 44—46.

be indicated by the front face ; *Rudra* on the right side should hold the *khaṭvāṅga* and the trident ; *Brahmā* on the back should be represented as holding a rosary and the *kamaṇḍalu* and *Viṣṇu* on the left should hold the conch and the disc. The *Aparājitapṛcchā*[13] also gives a similar description of the image.

H. Krishna Sastri[14] has described and illustrated the three-headed and eight-armed standing *Sūrya* of the Chidambaram temple as an example of the syncretistic image of *Sūryahariharapitāmaha*. A majority of such images, however, is known only from central and Western India—from Madhya Pradesh, Uttar Pradesh, Gujarat and Rajasthan. Important images found so far include those of the *Udayeśva* temple at Udaipur in the former Gwalior state[15] ; the *Lakṣmaṇa, Viśvanātha, Dula Deo, Pratāpeśvara, Javārī* and *Citragupta* temples of Khajuraho[16] ; from Tehu (Agra) in Uttara Pradesh[17] ; *Limboji Mātā* at Delmal in Gujarat[18]

13. *Aparājitapṛcchā,* Gaekwad Oriental Series, Baroda, 1950, p. 213, vv. 32—34.

14. H. Krishna Sastri, *South Indian Gods and Goddesses,* p. 236, Fig. 144. Kalpana Desai has failed to notice this image as also the one from Tehu (Agra) in the Mathura Museum.

15. *Annual Administrative Report of the Archaeological Department, Gwalior State,* for 1933-34, Pl. XII.

16. Kalpana Desai, *loc. cit.,* pp. 55-56; Ramashraya Awasthi, "*Khajurāho Kī Harihara-Hiraṇyagarbha Pratimāyen*", *Journal of the U. P. Historical Society,* Vol. X, Part II, Pl. X.

17. V. N. Srivastava and Shivadhar Misra, "Inventory Of Mathura Museum Sculptures Since 1939 Uptodate", *Bulletin Of Museums* and *Archaeology in U. P.,* No. 11-12 (June—December, 1973), p. 55, S.N..111 (Acc. No. 58.4720).

18. J. Burgess and H. Cousens, *Architectural Antiquities of Northern Gujarat,* 1903, pp. 88-9, Pls. LXLX.7; H. D. Sankalia,

and from Jhalawar, Sikar & Bhawal in Rajasthan.[19]

Three images of *Sūryahariharapitāmaha,* which adorn the walls of *Viṣṇu* temples in the *Saciyā Mātā* temple complex at Osian, however, have remained neglected so far.[20] It is notable that all the three images exist on the eastern walls of the said temples. All images show three faces (the fourth one at the back can be presumed) and eight hands. The main position in these images is occupied by *Sūrya* who stands fully bedecked in his typical Northern dress: wearing *kirīṭa-mukuṭa,* ear-rings, necklece, *avyaṅga,* lower garment fastened by a waistband with beautiful pendants hanging down to the knees, long boots and a *vaijayantī-mālā* flowing from the back down the shoulders and coming down to lower than the knees.

All the three faces in Figure 1 are visible, though the central one is partially damaged. *Sūrya,* the central figure, has been shown as wearing a three-band *yajñopavīta* besides the *kirīṭa-mukuṭa,* ear-rings, necklace, coat of mail, lower garment tied with a waist-band whose two pendants fall on the thighs and long boots. All the eight arms are broken

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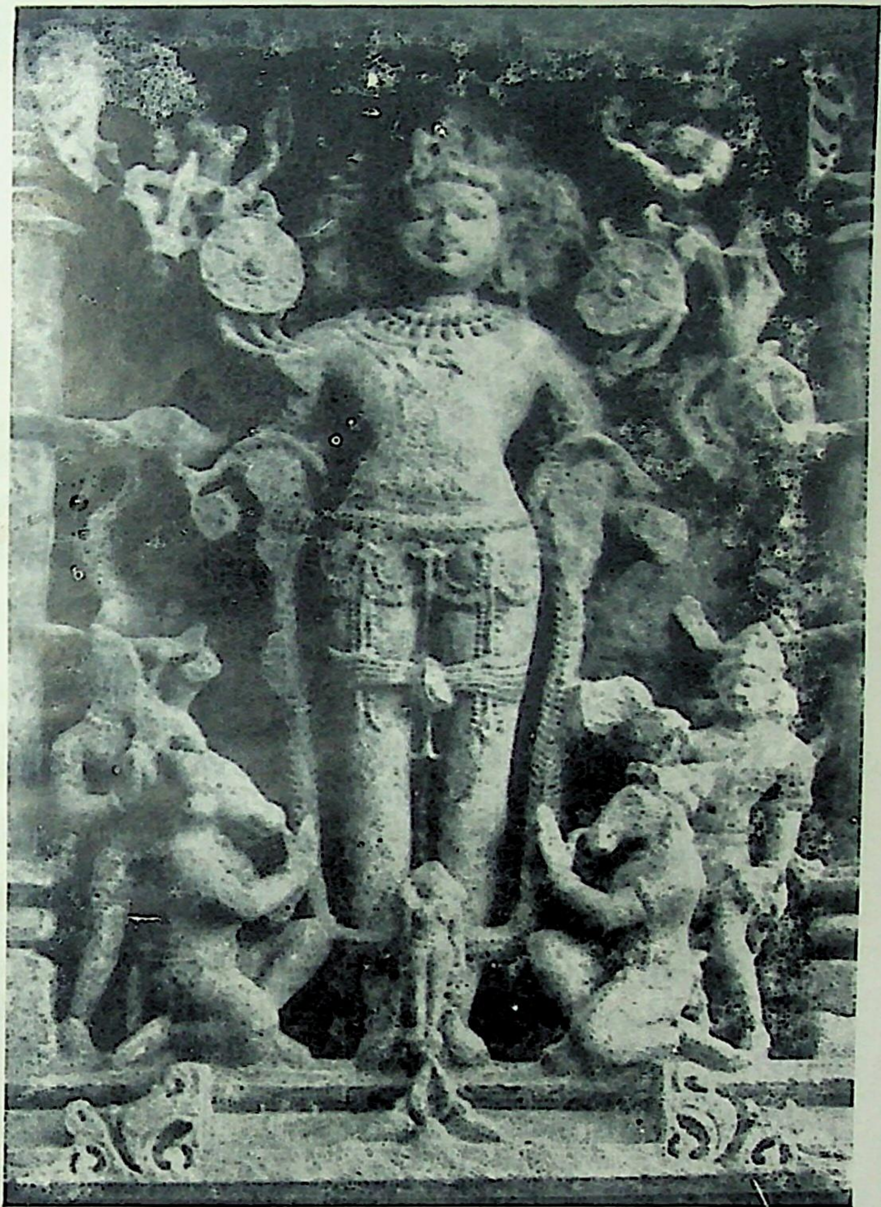
The Archaeology Of Gujarat, Bombay, 1941, pp. 163-64, Fig. 73. Sankalia also refers to another figure from *Pāvāgarh* which has *Sūrya. Brahmā* and *Śiva* (See *Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle,* 1907–8, p. 42 and 1912, p. 58.

19. G. H. Ojha, *History Of The Jodhpur State,* Part I, Ajmer, 1938, pp. 35 & 45; R. C. Agrawal, "Sikar", *Mārg,* Vol. XII, No. 1 (March 1959), p. 71 and *"Jhalawar Saṅgrahālaya Kī Aṣṭabāhu Viṣṇu Pratimā", Maru-Bhāratī,* Vol. V, No. 3; Kalpana Desai, *loc. cit.*

20. D. K. Bhandarkar, The Temples Of Osiā, *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India,* 1908-09, pp. 100–115; Pupul Jayakar "Osian", *Mārg, op cit.,* pp. 54–59.

but two lotuses, held by *Sūrya* above the shoulders on either side, the pike of the trident on the right and the disc on the left are seen quite clearly. The swan, *Brahmā*'s vehicle, *Kuṇḍī, Sūrya's* acolyte and *Nandī, Śiva's vehicle,* have been carved on the proper right of the deity near his feet and *Daṇḍī, Sūrya's* other attendant, horse-face and a human figure occupy the left hand side. The swan has been carved very beautifully as gazing at his master. *Kuṇḍī's* head is broken. He is standing in a *dvi-bhaṅga* prose holding a stile in the right and a leaf (or manuscript) in the left hand, wearing ear-rings, pearl necklet, armlets, wristlets and a *dhotī*. The beard is visible though the face is completely mutilated. *Nandī*'s head is broken but its hump seems to have been carved beautifully and prominently. *Daṇḍī* with a long staff in his right hand has been shown as standing on the left in an analogous pose, but resting his left hand on the corresponding thigh. The whole upper portion above the waist of the standing human figure on the extreme left is completely mutilated. The depiction of the lower garment of this figure is very beautiful. A notable feature of this sculpture is that the two faces on the right and left of *Sūrya* represent *Śiva* and *Brahmā* (and not *Viṣṇu* as laid down in the *Devatāmūrti prakaraṇa* and *Aparājitapṛcchā)* as both have been depicted with matted hair. This characteristic is shared by the Sikar, Khajuraho (Pratapeśva temple) and *Limboji Mātā* sculptures also.

In Figure 2, the upper right hand portion above the waist is mutilated and only the left hand side face of the deity is partially visible. But for the proper left hand which holds the disc, all the other seven hands, three on the left and four on the right, are gone. The arm holding the disc shows a wristlet. On the proper right of the deity near the feet are carved a goose, *Brahmā*'s vehicle, *Piṅgala*



Sūrya Hari-Hara-Pitāmaha

Fig. No. 3

Sūrya's acolyte, with head and left arm mutilated, and *Nandī, Śiva*'s bull to left. *Nandī* is partially visible for it has been carved behind the goose and *Piṅgala*. Its head is broken. The left hand side is occupied by *Daṇḍī* with a long staff, and a standing male figure with right hand raised to the head (which is broken), is if in adoration or holding some emblem on the head, and the left one hanging down, touching the thigh on the side. In between *Daṇḍī* and this mutilated male figure has been carved the head of a horse representing *Sūrya*'s steed. Obviously, the damaged male attendant on the left represented *Viṣṇu,* in the form of an *āyudha-puruṣa* or an attendant.

Figure 3 is comparatively better preserved. Here also the central figure is that of *Sūrya,* fully bedecked and adorned in the Northern style. Faces of *Hari* and *Hara* are also visible. But for an upper left arm which holds a three-headed snake (partially damaged), all other arms are broken. Lotus on either side above the shoulders and the prong of the trident on the right are, however, still left. Over the shoulders, at the back, are shown garland-bearing flying female celestials. A diminutive female figure representing the Earth goddess (or perhaps Uṣas, the precursor of the Sun) stands on the feet of *Sūrya*. The horse-headed twin gods *Aśvins, Sūrya*'s sons *Dasra* and *Nāsatya,* are sitting in profile on either side, in *añjali-mudrā,* wearing crowns, pearl necklaces, armlets, wristlets, anklets and a lower garment. Behind the *Aśvins* on either side stands a female attendant. The one on the right is shown with folded hands and the other on the left holds a lotus in the right hand, resting the left one on the corresponding thigh. This whole composition, exquisitely carved and poised, fills a niche between two pilasters.

Though there does not seem to be any considerable

chronological gap among these sculptures, yet Figure 1 may be said to be the earliest, ascribable to the last quarter of the tenth century. Figures 2 and 3 may be assigned to circa 1000 and 1015-20 respectively.

In most of the composite images of this type, as also in all the three icons from Osian, *Sūrya* has been assigned the central position and seems to have been emphasised more. These images, with *Sūrya* as the central figure, should therefore be better called as *Sūrya-Hari-Hara-Pitāmaha* than *Hariharahiraṇyagarbha* which may represent images with *Viṣṇu* in the central position like the Jhalawar example.

It is notable that all syncretistic images of *Sūrya-Hari-Hara-Pitāmaha* found so far are only subsidiary images and none seems to have been worshipped independently. There is no doubt that *Sūrya* has been emphasised in these icons but it will be erroneous to believe like Goetz that these images represent *Sūrya* as the 'Supreme Godhead'.[21] *Sūrya* may have been assigned the central position as most of these images have been set up in the eastern walls of temples belonging to *Viṣṇu, Śiva* or other deities.

These images of *Sūrya-Hari-Hara-Pitāmaha* are important as they indicate the popularity of the syncretistic ideology as far west as Osian in Rajasthan and show interesting features like the representation of *Śiva* and *Brahmā* on the right and left of *Sūrya* and the *Aśvins* in *añjalimudrā* at *Sūrya*'s feet.

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21. H. Goetz, "*Sūrya* as the Supreme Godhead", *Professor P. K. Gode Commemoration Volume,* Poona, 1960, pp. 113 ff and figure.

THE KUṢĀṆAS AND THE SUN-CULT

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The author in this paper reviews the works on the Sun-cult and the Kuṣāṇas in the past and finds that many aspects of the subject remain unstudied. He criticises the thesis of Rosenfield that there was no independent Sun-cult among the Kuṣāṇas and comes to the conclusion that the Kuṣāṇa period was one of the most creative moments in the history of the Sun-cult as it witnessed the evolution of the cult-icons of the Sun on the analogy of Kuṣāṇa royal portraits and the Magian form of the Sun-cult got official recognition.

In spite of baleful expression of *Gotterdammorung* on the[1] role of the Kuṣāṇa period[2] in the Purāṇas,[3] the Kuṣāṇas represent, to a modern historian, a creative and constructive force in the history of human civilization in its varied aspects of art, religion, philosophy, science, political theory and practice, social behaviour and norms, economic

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1. This paper was read by me as a delegate of India at International Seminar on Kuṣāṇa History and Culture, Kabul, 1978.

2. I have accepted here the concept of a Kuṣāṇa period as extending from the first to the fourth centuries A.D. as is suggested by John M. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*, 1967, p. 3.

3. Pargiter, F. E., *Purāṇa Text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age*, London, 1913, p. 57 (text) and 74 (translation); Cf. *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, Ch. 24.

structure and trade-patterns.[4] Recent archaeological discoveries of the Kuṣāṇa period in Soviet Central Asia,[5] Afghanistan,[6] Pakistan[7] and India[8] have proved beyond doubt that 'the empire of the Kuṣāṇas was the setting for a number of crucial events in the history of Asian Civilization' and as a force in Asian Civilization, 'the Kuṣāṇas were fully as influential as the Timurids or the Mughals'.[9] It is a tragedy that such a creative epoch has been 'slow to regain a place in recorded history' and the process of reconstruction of its history is still 'far from complete'.[10]

Religion and ideology, *inter alia,* offers us a typical field in the history of the Kuṣāṇas where there are many dark corners and several unsolved complex problems of far-

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4. Gafurov, B. G., "Kushan Civilisation and World Culture", in *Proceedings of the International Conference on the History, Archaeology and Culture of Central Asia in the Kushan Period,* Dushanbe, 1968, pub. 1974, pp. 71–80 (Henceforth referred to as *Proceedings*).

5. See Frumkin, G., "Archaeology in Soviet Central Asia", Vol. III, Bd. I of *Handbuch der Orientalistik,* Leiden, 1968.

6. See Dupree, L., *Afghanistan,* Princeton, 1973, pp. 303 ff.

7. See Dani, A. H., and Khan, F., "Kushan Civilization in Pakistan", in *Proceedings,* pp. 95–106.

8. Thapar, B., "The Kushan Civilization in India, An Appraisal of the Contemporary Elements", in *Proceedings,* pp. 90–94, Sharma, G. R., "The Śaka-Kuṣāṇas in the Central Ganga Valley", (with J. S. Negi), in *Proceedings,* pp. 15–41 and also in *Kuṣāṇa Studies,* Allahabad, 1968.

9. Rosenfield, *op. cit.,* p. 2.

10. *Ibid.,* p. 3.

reaching consequences.[11] Of such questions one is that of the Sun-cult and the Kuṣāṇas which has not been satisfactorily answered so far in spite of a few attempts in the past. With the beginning of Kuṣāṇa research[12] after the publication of H. Wilson's *Ariana Antiqua,* London, in 1851, an awareness grew that there are a few gods like the Greek Elios and the Indo-Iranian Miiro on the coins of a few Kuṣāṇa kings who may be identified as the Sun-gods. However, a definite contribution to this problem was made by Aurel Stein in 1887 when he discussed the nature of deities, particularly Zoroastrian, on Indo-Scythian coins.[13] This sparked off a controversy and his views were vehemently critisised by Kirste[14] in 1888. In 1892 Cunningham also discussed the nature of deities on Kuṣāṇa coins and concluded that the deities on Kuṣāṇa coinage represent the seven planets and the various functions assigned to the regents. According to him, Helios, Mithra, Ashaviksha and Anio belong to the Sun.[15] His theory has not been accepted by many on the grounds that it does not include all the deities and the classification does not furnish details for a correct and complete study of the features of gods.[16] However, a similar attempt

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11. Gafurov, *op. cit.,* p. 80 rightly says that scholars still have a number of challenging problems to solve: they have to identify Kuṣāṇa features in later religious systems of India etc.

12. Rosenfield, *op. cit.,* p. 4.

13. "Zoroastrian Deities on Indo-Sythian Coins", *Oriental and Babylonian Record,* August, 1887 and also *Indian Antiquary,* XVII (1888), p. 89.

14. *Vienna Oriental Journal,* II, 1888 pp. 237–244.

15. "Coins of the Indo-Sythians", *Numismatic Chronicle,* 3rd series, XII, pp. 44–98.

16. Chattopadhyay, B., *The Age of the Kuṣāṇas, A Numismatic Study,* Calcutta, 1967, pp. 141–188.

was made in 1910 by Theodore Bloch who concentrated on Zoroastrian gods on Kuṣāṇa coinage and as such contributed towards the study of Mithra on Kuṣāṇa coins.[17] In 1911-12 Mat shrine of the Kuṣāṇa period along with a number of portrait statues[18] was discovered but no serious attempt was made to correlate the evidences of coins and sculptures for the religion of the Kuṣāṇas.

In 1930 Herzfield studied the solar chariot of the Sassanians.[19] In 1932, D. B. Diskalkar analysed the characteristics of a Sūrya image, *inter alia,* from Mathura which belongs to the Kuṣāṇa period.[20] This has a close resemblance to the Kuṣāṇa royal portraits[21] but this point escaped the attention of the scholarly world at that infant stage of the Kuṣāṇa studies and no discussion was done on the probable origin of the Sūrya image from the Kuṣāṇa royal portrait or on the implications of the Sun-cult for the cult of royalty of the Kuṣāṇas.[22] In 1933, Scheftelowitz[23] made a note-

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17. "Die Zorastrischen Gotteiten an den Nunzen der Kuṣāṇa-Konige", *Zeitschrift-der Deutschen Morgenlandsichen, Gesellschaft,* LXIV, pp. 739—744.

18. Vogel, J. Ph., *Archaeological Survey of India, Reports,* 1911-12, pp. 126—127, and "La Sculpture de Mathura", *Ars Asiatica,* XV, 130.

19. "Die Sasanidischen quadrigae solis et lunae", *Archaeologische Mitteilungen ous Iran,* II, pp. 128-131.

20. "Some Brarmanical Sculptures in the Mathura Museum", *Journal of U.P. Historical Society,* V (I), pp. 18—57.

21. Rosenfield, *op. cit.,* p. 190.

22. *Ibid.,* p. 196—197.

23. "Die Mithra-Religion der Indoskythen und ihre Beziehung Zum Saura-und Mithra-kult", *Acta Orientalia,* XI, pp. 292—333.

worthy contribution on the Mithra-cult among the Indo-Scythians against the background of the West Asiatic movement of Mithraism and the Sun-cult of the East. But questions like the role of the Sun-cult in the dynastic history of the Kuṣāṇas, the antecedent of the Sun-icon, its relationship, if any, with the political theory and practice of the Kuṣāṇas etc. remained unanswered.

In the first quarter of the 28th century there appeared a number of catalogues of coins and sculptures of the Kuṣāṇa period which included a brief matter-of-fact descriptions of solar deities on coins and in images belonging to the Kuṣāṇas.[24] By this time two classic works of the Indian Sun-cult—the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* and the *Sāmba Purāṇa* were also recovered from the oblivion.[25] These works revealed that the Iranian Mithraic tradition has influenced the Indian Sun-cult sometimes during the period of foreign invasions before the Imperial Guptas.[26] Thus the evidences of coins, sculptures, and Indian Brahmaṇical literature had by this time made out a clearly good case for the study of

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24. See Whitehead, R. B., *Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum,* Lahore, Vol. I Indo-Greek Coins, Oxford, 1914, Smith, V. A., *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum,* Calcutta, Vol. I, Oxford, 1906, Gardner, P., *The Coins of the Greek and Scythic kings of Bactria and India,* London, 1886, Allan, J., *Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum,* London, 1936, Spooner and Hargreaves, *Hand-book to the Sculptures in the Peshawar Museum, Calcutta,* 1930 Agarwala, V. S., *A Catalogue of the Brahmanical Images in Mathura Art,* Lucknow, 1951.

25. These were respectively published in 1910 and 1899.

26. Hazra, R. C., *Studies in the Upa-Purāṇas,* Vol. I, Calcutta, 1958, Srivastava, V. C., *Sun-worsrip in Ancient India,* Allahabad, 1972, p. 232ff.

the Sun-cult in relation to the foreign rulers like the Śakas and the Kuṣāṇas with its various implications and consequences.

A few contributions were made to the study of the Sun-cult in general in the second quarter of the 20th century such as those of whitehead,[27] Soper[28] Rowland[29] and others[30] which threw valuable light on some aspects of the Sun-cult and the Kuṣāṇas but these studies raised more problems by their speculative theories than they could solve in respect of the Sun-cult and the Kuṣāṇas. For instance, Soper advanced the thesis that the Kuṣāṇa kings had a royal myth that was either an imitation of that of Mithra or was deliberately merged with it,[31] but he himself and his supporters could neither substantiate the thesis nor explain the details of the mechanism of this imitation or acculturation in view of the paucity of evidences on East Iranian religion and the Kuṣāṇas themselves. Rowland's enquiry into the relationship of the Buddha and the Sun-god as evidenced by the reliefs at the late Kuṣāṇa site of Bamiyan (Afghanistan) and some pre-Kuṣāṇa sites of Bodh Gayā, Bhājā, Anantagumphā (India) opened a new line of research which has a great bearing on the Kuṣāṇas and the Sun-cult.[32] Whitehead associated the sacred image

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27. "Multan: The House of Gold", *Numismatic Chronicle*, XVII, pp. 60–72.

28. "Aspects of Light Symbolism in Gandhara Scultpture", *Artibus Asiae*, XII, pp. 252–283, 314, XIII, 63–85.

29. "Buddha and the Sungod", *Zalmoxis*, I.

30. For instance Humbach, H., "Der Iranische Mithra als Daiva", *Paideuma*, VII, p. 75.

31. *op. cit.*, p. 272.

32. Rosenfield, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

of the Sun-god in the 'House of Gold' at Multan (ancient Mūlasthānapur) in Punjab-Sindh region (Pakistan) discribed by Hsuan Tsang,[33] Arab writers[34] and Indian Brahmanical literature,[35] with the Kuṣāṇas.[36] It brought into focus a question which has a fundamental value in the settlement of the problem of the original introducer of the Iranian Magian tradition in India and its impact on the cult-iconography of the Sun-sect.[37] However, all these indications regarding the Sun-cult and the Kuṣāṇas were based upon speculation rather than on solid historical evidences. A more systematic and comprehensive attempt to analyse the Sun-cult and the Kuṣāṇas from the point of view of iconography was made by J. N. Banerjea in this quarter.[38] He explained the antecedents of solar motifs on Kuṣāṇa coins in the obverse Sun figure on the coin of Philoxenes,[39] and discussed the alien traits of the Sun-images of the Kuṣāṇa period and found that there is a happy blending of indigenous and foreign traits in solar iconography of the Kuṣāṇa period which assumed a classical Indian form with reminiscences of Iranian features in the Gupta period. But it is unfortunate that he failed to find any connection between the figures of royal portraits on Kuṣāṇa coins and the Sun-images of Mathura of the

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33. Beal, S., *Buddhist Records of the Western World,* II, p. 274.

34. Eliot and Dowson, *History of India as Told by Its Own Historians,* I, pp. 18—73.

35. Hazra, *Studies,* I, p. 40 ff.

36. *op. cit.,* pp. 60—72.

37. Srivastava, *op. cit.,* p. 245.

38. *The Development of Hindu Iconography,* 1st ed., Calcutta, 1941.

39. *Ibid.,* p. 140 (1956 ed.).

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Kuṣāṇa period. He remained silent on the causes of the discovery of earliest solar iconography on non-Brahmanical, specially Buddhist sites[40]—a question which was raised by Rowland earlier and which still forms a matter of much speculation.[41] Another contribution in respect of the Mithra-cult was made by Humbach in 1960 which took into account, *inter alia,* the new evidences of Zoroastrian religion from the Kuṣāṇa dynastic sanctuary at Surkh Kotal (Afghanistan).[42]

In the last decade some significant contributions have been made towards the study of the Sun-cult and the Kuṣāṇas. In 1967 Rosenfield studied the royal portraits of the Kuṣāṇa emperors in their relationship to India and the Near East[43] and discussed in this connection deities on Kuṣāṇa coins which include Sun-god also ; and the relevance of solar symbolism for the stylistic and iconographic aspects of the Mathura imperial portraits. He concluded that 'there is little substantial evidence of a highly developed, independent solar cult among the Kuṣāṇas.[44] He suggested that the squatting Sūrya images were derived from Kuṣāṇa royal portraits and not from Kuṣāṅa coin image of the Sun-god.[45] He also indicated that the Kuṣāṇa royal cult had some affiliation with the Sun-cult of

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40. *Ibid.,* p. 432—433.

41. Allchin, F. R., Cruciform Reliquary from Shahi Khan Dheri", in *Aspects of Indian Art* (Papers presented in a Symposim at the Los Angels County Museum of Art, Oct., 1970 ed. by P. Pal, Leiden, 1972, pp. 15—26.

42. *op. cit.*

43. *op. cit.,* p. VII.

44. *Ibid.,* p. 192.

45. *Ibid.,* p. 190.

West Asiatic Mithraic tradition,[46] and the association of the Sun-god and the Buddha may be either symbolic or dynastic.[47] Limited by the scope of his subject he could not discuss in detail the nature and content of the Sun-cult *vis-a-vis* the Kuṣāṇas and its impact on the subsequent development of the Sun-cult in India.[48] In 1968 a very valuable work—*Indische Sonnenpriester Sāmba und der Śākadvīpīya Brāhmaṇa,* was produced by Stietencron on the Indian Sun-priest on the basis of the literary data preserved in the *Sāmba Upa-Purāṇa* and the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa*. Since the coming of the Maga priests in India is generally associated with the period of the foreign invasions of the Śaka-Kuṣāṇas, the authoritative textual analysis dealing with the Sun-priest, as Stietencron presents, may prove to be of immense importance for unravelling some of the mysteries of the subject.[49] The same year I traced the successive stages in the development of the basic ideas and conceptions of Sun-worship in Ancient India right from its faint beginnings in the pre-historic period to its maturity in the early mediaeval period on the combined basis of Brahmanical sources, secular literature, inscriptions, iconography, coins, temples and practices of indigenous tribes, in my D. Phil. thesis (published as *Sun-worship in Ancient India,* Allahabad, 1972). It included a brief but critical assessment of the Kuṣāṇa period in the history of the Sun-cult[50] but many specific questions connected with the Ku-

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46. *Ibid.,* 196.
47. *Ibid.,* 194–195.
48. Srivastava, *op. cit.,* p. 352 ff.
49. Srivastava, V. C., *Sāmba Purāṇa* (tr.) Allahabad, 1975, p. 16 ff.
50. *op. cit.,* 352, and pp. 297–299.

ṣāṇas and the Sun-cult remained unanswered due to the vast span of history that the work has to cover. In 1970 Allchin[51] discussed the solar iconography on the south facade of the reliquary of Shahi Khan Dheri (Pakistan) and reiterated the view of Rosenfield that the association of the Sun-god with the Buddha is dynastic. In 1971 L. P. Pandey published his thesis on *Sun-worship in Ancient India,* but it did not contain any new material other than those in earlier works of Banerjea, so far as the problem of the Kuṣāṇas and the Sun-cult was concerned except that he tried to minimise the impact of Indo-Iranian Mithraic tradition on the Indian Sun-cult with unconvincing and speculative arguments.[52] In 1975 M. Boyce critically examined the true nature of the Surkh Kotal sanctuary of the Kuṣāṇas and expressed doubts about its Zoroastrian nature and association with the cult of Fire.[53] The same year MacDowall[54] discussed the role of Mithra among the deities of the Kuṣāṇa coinage on the basis of copper coins in terms of a typical Roman *officina* pattern of mints and explained the rise and fall of this cult-device against the framework of the regional variations of mint and internal structural organization of the mints. In 1978 he[55] showed the close connection between Kuṣāṇa pantheon and Roman Mithraism. Mithra and other gods on Kuṣāṇa coins pre-

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51. *op. cit.,* pp. 15–26.

52. For a criticism see Thapilyal, U.P., *Foreign Elements in Ancient Indian Society,* Delhi, 1979, p. 150.

53. "On the Zoroastrian Temple Cult of Fire", *Journal of American Oriental Society,* Vol. 95, No. 3, 1975, pp. 545–455.

54. MacDowall, D. W., "The Role of Mithra among the Deities of the Kuṣāṇa Coinage", *Mithraic Studies,* ed. J. R., Hinnels, 1975, pp. 142–150.

55. MacDowall, D. W., "Mithra's Planetary Setting in the Coinage of the Great Kuṣāṇas", *Acta Iranica,* 1978, p. 305–315.

side over Greco-Roman Mithraic sphéres. Besides these specific technical studies on the Sun-cult in relation to the Kuṣāṇas, there are general works on Kuṣāṇa history and culture which include, though very casually. references to the cult of the Sun among the Kuṣāṇas.[56]

This review rightly gives the impression that the subject of the Sun-cult in the history and culture of the Kuṣāṇa period has not been given its due attention and various aspects of the question have been studied in a piecemeal way without attempting an overall view of the subject affecting ideology, political theory and practice, social structure and economic pattern.[57] Even in the limited sphere of religion and ideology of the Kuṣāṇa period its neglect is visibly marked and a typical case of injustice and neglect to it in recent times is the paper—Ideology and Religion in the Kuṣāṇa Epoch presented by B. N. Puri at the International Conference of the History. Culture and Archaeology of Central Asia in the Kuṣāṇa period, Dushanbe, 1968 where it does not find mention at all except a reference to a Sūrya image of Mathura once.[58] It would not be far from historical truth to remark that still the materials—literary, iconographical, numismatic and archaeological, on the Sun-cult during the Kuṣāṇa period lie scattered which need correlation for an overall assessment of the nature and content of the Sun-cult in the Kuṣāṇa

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56. For example Puri, B. N., *India under the Kuṣāṇas,* Bombay, 1964, Chattopadhyay, B., *The Age of the Kuṣāṇas,* Calcutta, 1967.

57. Yadava, B. N. S., "Some Aspects of the Changing Order in India during the Śaka-Kuṣāṇa Age", in *Proceedings,* Dushanbe, p. 123, fn. 19.

58. *op. cit.,* p. 185.

age, its implications for the evolution of the Kuṣāṇa culture in its totality and its consequence for the subsequent history and culture of Asia as a whole.

The Kuṣāṇa coins form a very important source of information for the religion of the Kuṣāṇas in general and the Sun-cult in particular. Coinage was the prerogative of the sovereign power. It was a more potent instrument for the expression of ideas and mass dessimination of motifs in ancient times than it is today. It reflected and manifested the basic values and fundamental ideology of the State which tried to permeate the whole society by filtering down through the most influential strata of society. Kuṣāṇa coins 'on the obverse proclaimed the charismatic power of the foreign ruler, and on the reverse the divine sources of his power'.[59]

The representation of the Sun-god in any form, symbolic or anthropomorphic, is conspicuous by its absence on the coins of Kujulā Kadphises and there is hardly any feature in the figure of the King which may be associated with Zoroastrian or Mithraic or any other religious cult. However, these coins depict most probably Greek deities like Heracles, Zeus and Nike.[60] On one early coin belonging to Hyrkodes a small standing male figure facing to the front, holding a spear, his left hand on his hip, with flaming shoulders appears on the reverse.[61] To Rosenfield[62] he closely resembles the Kuṣāṇa deity—Pharro. It may be noted that the posture of the figure is not unlike that of Miiro on Kuṣāṇa coins[63] but the flaming shoulders bring it

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59. Rosenfield, *op. cit.*, p. 70.
60. *Ibid.*, p. 12—16.
61. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
62. *Ibid.*
63. Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 81—82.

closer to Pharro—the Iranian Fire deity of glory and legitimacy of Kings.[64] The coins of Kujula Kadphises were minted in the tradition of earlier kings of the Indo-Greeks, the Śakas and the Indo-Parthians so far the motifs of Heracles, Zeus, Nike and Pharro are concerned[65] and as such these motifs may have nothing to do with the faith of king or the affiliation with the dynastic mythology of the Kuṣāṇas.

The coinage of *Soter Megas,* the Nameless king of the Kuṣāṇa provides us with valuable data for the Sun-cult. The position of this king in the Kuṣāṇa dynasty is not fixed. However, MacDowall regards him as the successor of Kujula and predecessor of Vīmā Kadphises and as the real founder of the Kuṣāṇa empire. His coinage has one obverse and one reverse type—the rayed head on the obverse and the king wearing a Phrygian cap, on the horseback on the reverse. It appears that the rayed head is that of Helios-Mithra on the pattern of Zeus-Helios rayed head on copies of Heliocles. It is the head of a deity as it is more idealised than that of a portrait. Though found abundantly in Bactria, North and South of Hindu Kush, Punjab and Uttar Pradesh as far East as Varanasi, it appears to be the official product of the Begram (Kapisa) mint which has a long tradition of issuing enthroned Zeus-Helios tetradrachms of Hermeus and the square copper coins of Hermeus with the radiate head and Phrygian cap and the riderless horse—all associated with solar symbolism.[66]

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64. *Ibid.*, p. 96.

65. *Ibid.*, 12 ff.

66. MacDowall, D. W., "Soter Megas, the King of Kings, the Kusana", *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, 1968, p. 28 ff.

On the reverse of the coins of Vīmā Kadphises we find Śiva with Nandi and trident and *mahisvarasa* in Kharoṣṭhi in all seven types.[67] It appears that Vīmā Kadphises who is credited with the conquest of India[68] accepted the Indian Brahmanical faith of Śiva which was a popular cult in north-west of ancient India[69] as this time. It is also quite probable, as it has been suggested by MacDowall[70] that these coins of Vīmā were struck in the mint of Punjab where the official motif was Śaivite as is clear from the reverse type of Nameless king in Kashmir and those of Azes IV, Jihonika and Kujula Kadphises in Gandhara. Type VIII of Vīmā's coins introduced a new motif on the obverse—king standing frontally sacrificing at altar. It is continuation of motif of the standing Śiva on reverse of Soter Megas in Kashmir. It remained a basic theme of the royal portrait during the Kuṣāṇa and even Gupta times.[71] Later on the motif occurs on the obverse of Kaniṣka's coinage[72]-types I, Ia, II, IIa, III, IIIa. The only exceptions in case of Kaniṣka from this point of view are types IIb (bust of king emerging from rocks) and IV (king seated on a throne). This motif is absent on Huviṣka's coins where the motif is generally that of the bust or seated king.[73] However, it reappears on all the types of Vāsudeva's coins[74] (Types I, II with trident behind the altar, III, IV with the Nandipada motif V with addition of Swastika, VI). The coins of Kaniṣka-

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67. *Ibid.,* pp. 22–26.
68. *Hou Han-shu,* p. 118, 9a,
69. *A Comprehensive History of India,* Vol. II, pp. 400.
70. MacDowall, *op. cit., Mithraic Studies,* 1975, p. 147.
71. Rosenfield, *op. cit.,* p. 25.
72. *Ibid.,* pp. 54–57.
73. *Ibid.,* pp. 60–66.
74. *Ibid.,* pp. 106–110.

III has this motif on its both types-I and II.[75] It is found on an unique gold coin probably belonging to the successor or Kaniṣka-III.[76] Thus it is clear that the motif of a standing king sacrificing before a fire-altar is an ever-recurring, consistent device on all the kings of the Kuṣāṇa dynasty from Vīmā Kadphises onwards with the only exception of Huviṣka. This coin portrait of Vīmā has a close resemblance with the portrait statues of Kaniṣka in the dynastic shrines at Mathura and Surkh Kotal.[77] In view of these facts it is quite probable that this motif was of dynastic importance. Rosenfield,[78] to whom MacDowall follows, finds the justification for its presence on Kuṣāṇa coinage in the fact that it was entirely compatible with Indian customs, though he does not rule out the possibility of its being inspired by Mithraism which has become an international movement by this time[79] and has reached India as early as the Achaemenid period (5th century B. C.).[80] There are a few examples of such fire-altars or fires in vases along with other figures in early Mithraism. On the royal tomb of Darius there is a figure of standing king on a pedestal adoring Ahurmajdah. Facing the monarch there is the sacred fire burning in the vase and the Sun shining high

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75. *Ibid.*, pp. 109–110.

76. *Ibid.*, p. 113.

77. Vogel, *op. cit.*, Schlumberger, "Le temple de Surkh Kotel en Bactrian", *Journal Asiatique,* 1952, 533–544, 1954, 161–205, 1955, 269–280.

78. *op. cit.*, p. 25.

79. Cumont, F., *The Mysteries of Mithra,* p. 34 ff.

80. Srivastava, V. C., "Antiquity of the Magas in Ancient India", *Proceedings, Indian History Congress,* 1968—Actual Fire-altars have been found from Balambat (Pakistan) in the Achaemenid levels.

up behind the divine figure. A late Kuṣāṇa seal[81] shows a similar theme—a prince in the Indo-Scythian dress sacrificing over an altar, with the Sun in the field above the altar, which confirms the Mithraic influence on the Kuṣāṇas. It is not to be forgotten that there was a tradition of representing Mithra by means of symbols as a solar disc, wheal, fire etc., in early Mithraism and anthropomorphic representation of Mithra was resorted to only after the Hellenisation of Mithraism in the courts of West Asian successors of Alexander by the first century B. C.[82] In the Parthian period also this device continued as is clear from a bas-relief depicting a prince secrificing at fire-altar on a boulder near the Darius relief at Bisutun and a similar one at Tang-i-Sarwak[83] and on the reverse of the coins of the Parthian king—Gotarzes I (A.D. 40/41-50).[84] On a Vatāśvaka coin there is a figure with raised hand in front of the mountain, below the mountain there is a pile of fire-bells and below the figure there is a taurine symbol. There is something Mithraic in it.[85] On Mitra series[86] of coins there is depiction of fire and Sun-disc but no anthropomorphic figure is shown.

Actual specimens of fire-altars have been found from

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81. Rosenfield, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

82. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 438.

83. Herzfield, *Am. Tor. von Asien,* Berlin, 1920 Henning, W. B., "The Mounment and Inscriptions of Tang-i-Ssawak", *Asia Major*, n.s., II (1952), p. 151–179.

84. *Journal of the Numismatic Society,* XXII, 1960, pp. 109–112.

85. Allan, *British Museum Catalogue,* XXLVI, Srivastava, *Sun-worship in Ancient India*, p. 285–286.

86. Banerjee, *op. cit.*, p. 139.

the Achaemenid levels at Balambat (Pakistan) which shows that Mithraism had reached north-West India as early as the Achaemenid times.[87] In view of these evidences it may not be wrong to suggest that the motif of a king sacrificing at a fire-altar appears to have been inspired by Mithraism which was quite popular among the rulers and military classes in West Asia. Since it was not inconsistent with the Indian tradition of sacrifices, the Kuṣāṇas found it most suitable to adopt it because it satisfied the religious feelings of those who had come under Mithraic influence as well as those who followed the older Indian tradition. In view of the great appeal of Mithraism to the elite—kings, nobles, and also soldiers[88] and its prevalence in the empire of the Kuṣāṇas from quite early times[89] it was difficult for the Kuṣāṇas to be free from its impact. The motif appears to depict the king as the follower of the combined fire-sun-cult of Mithraism. One temple at Hadda belonging to the Kuṣāṇa period is taken to be a fire-temple.[90] The evidence of Surkh Kotal which appears to be a fire-sanctuary[91] of dynastic nature supports this conclusion. It is to be noted that the Sun-image has also been found kept in this sanctuary. Probably after the conquest of India, the Kuṣāṇa kings adopted Mithraism as a family creed but the case of Huviṣka represents a break from this generally accepted tradition.

There is a variety of gods on the reverse of Kuṣāṇa coinage, particularly on those of Kaniṣka I and Huviṣka.

87. Dani, A. H., in *Ancient Pakistan*, III.

88. Cumont, *op. cit.*, p. 30 ff. and Moulton, *The Treasure of Magi*, 9.

89. Srivastava, *Sun-worship*, p. 244.

90. Personal Communication.

91. Schlumberger, *op. cit.* Cf. Boyce, *op. cit.*

About thirty three deities are named on these coins, some of them have over-lapping functions or express different shades of emphasis of the same divine office.[92] The Kuṣāṇa pantheon has been adopted from Rome and Alexandria, Hellenized Orient, Iran and India and reflect the broad cultural horizon and religious syncreticism of the Kuṣāṇas.[93] Let us estimate the position of the Sun-gods in this pantheon. Out of these different gods on Kuṣāṇa coins two-Mihira and Helios[94] are definitely Sun-gods of the Greek and Iranian origin respectively. B. Chattopadhyaya[95] following Cunningham regards Ardaviksha and Onia and Omber as the Sun-gods in addition to Helios and Mihira. On the basis of Rosenfield's analysis of these coins it may be said that Mithra along with Ardoxsho, Athsho, Mao, Nana, Pharro (all Iranian) and Oesho (Śiva) (Indian-Brahmanical) is one of the most commonly found deities on the Kuṣāṇa coins while notably rare are Herakles, Helios, Hephaistos, Roma, Selene, Serapis (all Greek or Roman) and Buddha. Mahāsena, Skanda-Kumāra and Viṣākha are in the category of averagely found deities.[96] It shows that the Kuṣāṇa pantheon was dominated by the Iranian deities and Śiva of the Indian tradition was an exception. The Greek, Hellenistic, Roman and Buddhist deities were not popular at all so far as the evidence of coins is concerned. Even the Sun-cult which the Kuṣāṇas patronized under the name of Mithra was of Mithraic tradition and not of the Indian tradition as we fail to find any Indian variety of Sun-gods

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92. Rosenfield, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

93. *Ibid.*, and Puri, "Ideology and Religion in the Kuṣāṇa Epoch", *Proceedings*, pp. 183–109.

94. Rosenfield, *op. cit.*, p. 77–82.

95. *op. cit.*, pp. 141–188.

96. Rosenfield, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

like Sūrya, Āditya etc. On their coins Mithra is represented on the reverse of the copper coins of Kaniska I as follows :

(a) *Miiro* (Variants–*Miro, Meiro, Mirro, Mioro, Miuro*) Diademed male standing to left, nimbate and radiate ; wears tunic and mantle and short boots, makes peculiar two-fingered hand gestures. Armed with short sword at left hip.[97]

(b) same as above but it carries a knobbed staff.[98]

More variants of Mithra are found on the gold coins of Huviṣka as follows :

(a) Faces right ; holds sword or aṅkuśa in left hand, a torque in right, has radiate halo, dressed in tunic, short boots, and mantle.[99]

(b) Kaniṣka's basic types as above.[100]

(c) Similar except that the deity holds staff either resting in arm or on the ground.[101]

(i) Proffers circlet with diadem in right hand, left hand on hips : variants : without radiations from halo, radiations inside the halo.[102]

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97. *Ibid.*, 81—82, coins 115, 116.
98. *Ibid.*, coin 118.
99. *Ibid.*, coin 118, 119.
100. *Ibid., coin* 120, 121.
101. *Ibid.*, coin 122, 123, 124.
102. *Ibid.*, coin 125, 126.

(ii) Similar but holds staff in left hand, hair is in bun behind the neck.[103]

(d) holds staff in right hand, left hand on hip.[104]

(e) faces left, holds staff in right hand, aṅkuśa in left hand, halo lacks radiation, wears helmet.[105]

(f) Similar to (e) except that offers circlet with left hand, halo radiate.[106] Mirro is represented on some other coins of Huviṣka in association with Mao-Moon god. In this Mirro is radiate, armed with a sword, right hand is in two-fingured gesture,[107] as in *Miiro* type on Kaniṣka's coins. Helios—the Greek Sun-god, is found under the name *ELIOS* on coins of Kaniṣka only as a male figure standing to left, radiate nimbus, right hand in peculiar two-fingured gesture as found in Mithra figures on Kaniṣka's coins, left hand rests on hilt of short sword, wears diadem, long tunic, ankle boots, mantle held by single round lasp.[108] It is identical to *Miiro* type as discussed above. Thus as a type the Sun-god is shown on coins as a standing male figure with nimbate and radiate halo and sword or staff in either of the hands with a few variants of the same theme.

Scholars[109] are surprised not to find the familiar solar

103. *Ibid.*, 127, 128.
104. *Ibid.*, 129.
105. *Ibid.*, 130.
106. *Ibid.*, 131.
107. *Ibid.*, 113, 114.
108. *Ibid.*, 90, 31.
109. Rosenfield, *op. cit.*, 192.

chariot and horses on coins of the Kuṣāṇas, particularly when these themselves have become quite popular in the pre-Kuṣāṇa coinage and sculptures of India.[110] Thus the ab sence of the theme of solar quadriga from Kuṣāṇa coins should not be explained on the ground that there is no association of Helios with chariot and horses in Homer as B. Chattopadhyaya has done,[111] or that the iconography of Mithra on coins is an original invention of the Kuṣāṇas. It appears that there were already two traditions of depicting the Sun-god in the pre-Kuṣāṇa period in India. One was the very familiar mode of depicting the Sun-god in quadridga as is revealed by representations of the Sun-god as Bhājā, Bodh Gayā, Anantagumphā, Lālā Bhagat reliefs and Patna and Chandraketugarh terracottas and coins of Plato,[112] while the other mode of representing the Sun-god as a male standing radiate figure with sword in hand may also be seen on a coin of Plato[113] and a coin of Philoxenus.[114] In 1948, a hoard of tetradrachms of Bactrian kings was discovered from Qunduz (Afghanistan) which included tetradrachms of Plato also. These coins of Plato show these two modes of representing the Sun-god on the reverse; one shows the radiate Mithra riding a quadriga to the front with the long sceptre in his right hand, while in the other he is shown standing to front holding the sceptre.[115] Gardner described the Sun-god on the obverse side of a bronze coin of Philoxenus as follows: Sun-god, in left hand long

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110. Srivastava, *Sun-worship*—p. 293—297.
111. *op. cit.*, 141.
112. Srivastava, *Sun-worship*—pp. 293—297.
113. *A Comprehensive History of India*, p. 785.
114. Gardner, *op. cit.*, pl. VI. fig. 61.
115. *A Comprehensive*—p. 785.

sceptre, right hand extended.[116] A very interesting device of the Sun-cult appears on an Avanti coin which may have been contemporary of the Kuṣāṇa coins. Here there is a standing human figure with a pole surmounted by a rayed disc in front.[117] It shows that the farmiliar theme of solar chariot and horses was not the only mode of representing the Sun-god in India at this time. In view of these facts it may be suggested that the representation of Mithra on the Kuṣāṇa coins was based upon the earlier but less popular Greek tradition as depicted on coins of Plato (Qunduz hoard) and Philoxenus. The dichotomy between the figures of the Sun-god on the Kuṣāṇa coins and those in sculptures and relief of the Kuṣāṇa period may be explained on the ground that the less popular Hellenistic tradition of depicting the Sun-god as a standing male figure with sword in the hand was given up in favour of a typically Kuṣāṇa mode of representing the god on the analogy of royal portrait,[118] which suited the political ideology of the State[119] better than the earlier foreign Greek tradition.

It is to be remembered that exigencies of politics based on the divine right of kingship demanded that a mass propoganda for a divinised powerful king bringing order out of chaos was to be done. The solar symbolism of Mithra as the most powerful ruler of the world supplied the theme. It suited the feudalistic socio-economic structure[120] of the Kuṣāṇa empire also. Hence the finer and

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116. *op. cit.*, pl. VI., fig. 61.

117. Srivastava, V. C., "The Religious Study of a Symbol on an Avanti Coin", *Memoirs*, No. 2, BHU, pp. 133-36.

118. Rosenfield, *op. cit.*

119. *Ibid.*, p. 197.

120. For a brief review see Om Prakash in *Early History of India*, Allahabad, 1980, pp. 354—365.

politically less expressive motif of the Sun-god in a quadriga was not adopted on the coins which was the main vehicle for mass propoganda by Kaniṣka and other Kuṣāṇa kings. In this connection the attention may be drawn to the mace held by Kaniṣka and other Kuṣāṇa kings as at Mat and Surkh Kotal which expressed this concept of Kuṣāṇa kingship. It is originally based upon solar symbolism and may be connected with pillar-concept and *Dharma* and *Daṇḍa* concepts of Indian tradition.[121]

It is difficult to agree with Sir Aurel Stein's[122] suggestion of Zoroastrian deities on Kuṣāṇa coins because statistically speaking Miiro, Mao, Nana, or Pharro or Ardosho coins far out number the Ahura Mazdah (*MOZDOOANO*) coins in the Kuṣāṇa series.[123] It has rightly been said that nature-centred deities predominate in it.[124] This phase may strictly be called Mithraic than Zoroastrian. It is rightly suggested that it is Mithra of the mystery cult of Mithraism who become the object of worship along with other elements of nature in Iranian religion. MacDowall has called it as the popular form of Mazdeism. This view agrees well with the Mithraic posture and allegiance of Kuṣāṇa kings on the obverse of their coins from Vīmā Kadphises to the end (except Huviṣka) as discussed above.

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121. Spagnoli, M. M., "The Symbolic Meaning of Club in the Iconography of Kuṣāṇa kings", *East and West*, XVII, 1967, pp. 245—267 and "Some Further Observations on the Symbolic Meaning of the Club in the Statue of Kaniṣka", *East and West*, XX, 1970, pp. 460—468.

122. *op. cit.*

123. Rosenfield, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

124. Chattopadhyaya, *op. cit.*

Rosenfield[125] does not find substantial evidence of a highly developed independent solar cult among the Kuṣāṇas because, to him, the solar deities ELIOS and MIRO, though abundant in the coinage of Kaniṣka and Huviṣka, are no more popular (statistically) than NANA, ARDHOXSHO or OESHO. Moreover, the separateness in the coin imagery with the Gandhara and Mathura statues of Sūrya strengthes his doubt. To him the names—Mihraman and Burzmihrpur indicative of Mithraic Sun-cult, in the Surkh Kotal inscription are not typically Kuṣāṇa. A statistical analysis of the Kuṣāṇa coins as presented by Rosenfield himself leads me to the conclusion that the Sun-gods are the most popular on the coins of Kaniṣka and Huviṣka as Miiro is found on 3 coins of Kaniṣka and 10 coins of Huviṣka, Elios is found on one coin of Kaniṣka, while Mao-Miiro on two coins of Huviṣka, while Nana is found on two coins of Kaniṣka and 4 coins of Huviṣka, Ardoxsho is found on one coin of Kaniṣka and two coins of Huviṣka. I am conscious of the fact that this statistical analysis on the basis of a selected representation may not give a correct picture but the interesting point is that it is from the selection of Rosenfield himself which give these results.

Various theories have been propounded to explain the medley of gods on the Kuṣāṇa coins such as it reflects the beliefs of the external trade-zones,[126] it manifests the religious syncreticism[127] of the Kuṣāṇa rulers, it presents the beliefs of the conquered peoples of the *Kushansahar*,[128] and these deities were the divine companions and supporters

125. *op. cit.*, 192.

126. Ingholt, quoted by Rosenfield, *op. cit.*, 70.

127. Sircar, in *Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 147.

128. Chattopadhyaya, *op. cit.*, Smith, *Early History of India*, 281.

of the monarchy, a direct expression of the ideology of the ruling house.[129] As regards the Sun-gods it appears that they were adopted by the Kuṣāṇas because of the wide popularity of this tradition under the impact of the international movement of Mithraism in north India by this time[130] and the Sun-cult of India and Mithraism had a powerful tradition of enhancing the power and prestige of the king.[131] The feudalistic socio-economic structure of the Kuṣāṇa empire with the king as the master and the remaining subjects as their slaves has been responsible for the adoption of the Mithra—the Great Master of the world by the Kuṣāṇas. In the *Ṛgveda* the Sun-god has been extolled as the supreme god several times and as a heavenly king.[132] In the *Atharvaveda* the Sun-god is invoked in rites meant for the killing of the enemies. In the *Taittirīya Saṃhitā*[134] the Sun is invoked in a hymn which is utilized for becoming a successful warrior. Rohita—the Sun-god in the *Atharvaveda*[135] is depicted as a king. The Sun is also connected with the maintenance of the Cosmic Order[136]—a concept which is quite similar to that of a king and *Dharma*. Mitra—the supporter of the heaven and the earth is a great friend in the Vedic and the Avestic literature.[137] In the classical literature of India the king and

129. Rosenfield, *op. cit.*, 70.
130. Cumont, *op. cit.*, 30 ff.
131. *Ibid.*
132. *RLVL.* I. 115.1, Srivastava, *Sun-worship*—48.
133. *AV.* II. 21; IV. 40; VII, 13.
134. *Ts.* II. 4.14.
135. Srivastava, V. C., "Rohita in the *Atharvaveda*", *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, LVIII.
136. Srivastava, *Sun-worship*—69.
137. *Ibid.*, 80 ff.

the Sun are too often associated.[138] In Mithraism also the association of Mithra and the king is referred to several times. It is well known that the popularity of Mithraism depended to a large extent on its militant and political character.[139] In view of these the Kuṣāṇa rulers accepted the Sun-cult but the diverse character of their realm prevented them from becoming exclusive like Ikhnaton. The absence of the Sun-gods on coins of later Kuṣāṇas after Huviṣka may be explained on the ground of their complete Indianisation as it will be clear from Vāsudeva coins where he appears to be exclusive follower of Śiva—the Indian god.[140] In India the socio-economic structure has not become feudal so far.[141] The lover of the Kuṣāṇa kings for the Sun-god continued even after they became Buddhist as is clear from the legend which narrates as to how a Sun image did not fall after a small statue of Buddha was placed on the head of Sūrya, when Kaniṣka saluted it.[142] Rosenfield's thesis that the deities were divine companions of the monarchy is very much true in the case of the Sun-gods when we remember the political ideology of the state.

The dichotomy between the solar imagery on the Kuṣāṇa coins and the solar imagery in the iconography of Mathura and Gandhara should not be construed as an argument for the non-existence of an independent and developed Sun-cult among the Kuṣāṇas. The Kuṣāṇa period witnessed certain revolutionary transformations in the iconographical tradition of the Sun-god.[143] No doubt,

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138. Rosenfield, *op. cit.*, 204 ff.
139. Cumont, *op. cit.*
140. Gafurov, *op. cit.*
141. Cf. Sharma, R. S., *Indian Feudalism.*
142. Levi, *Toung Pao*, XIII, p. 307.
143. Srivastava, *op. cit.*, p. 352.

there was already a tradition of solar iconography under the impact of the Hellenistic tradition and the indigenous tradition as is revealed by the representations of the Sun-god on a pottery piece of the Mauryan period from Patna, a terracotta of the Śuṅga period from Chandraketugarh, on Bodh Gayā, Bhājā, Ananta-Gumphā and Lālā Bhagat reliefs, besides its depiction on the Indo-Greek coins of Plato and Philoxenus.[144] The Sun-god rides in a chariot drawn by four horses and is free from Central Asian features like Northerner's dress (*Udīcya-veṣa*), high boots, dagger or club or mace, the ungainly squatting position etc. These features may be seen in the Sun-images of the Kuṣāṇa epoch. The Mathura school of art has given us a number of Sūrya icons of the Kuṣāṇa period. It is not surprising as Mathura has been one of the important centres of the Sun-cult of the Magian tradition which received patronage of the Kuṣāṇa kings and progressed immensely during this period.[145] The figure No. D-46 of the Mathura museum has rightly been taken by scholars as a Sūrya image rather than that of a king.[146] It belongs to the Kuṣāṇa period. It wears a heavy tunic and is seated in a squatting position in a chariot drawn by four horses. It holds a lotus bud in his right hand and a broken dagger in the left. There are traces of top boots in his partially visible legs. There is a small votive altar carved in relief on the pedestal. It has sun-disc or nimbus behind his head. No doubt, new features like heavy tunic, top boots, dagger and squatting position are due to the Mithraic-Magian influx in the second powerful wave during the Śaka-Kuṣāṇa period. The Indian literary tradition[147] is fully aware of this revolution

144. *A Comprehensive History of India*, p. 785.

145. Srivastava, *op. cit.*, p. 352.

146. Rosenfield, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

147. Hazra, *Studies*, Vol. I.

done during the period of the Śaka-Kuṣāṇa invasions. However, it is noteworthy that the Kuṣāṇas, in the typical Indian spirit of synthesis and assimilation, did not make a break with the past as there is a happy blending of Indian, Hellenistic, Iranian and Central Asian features in their solar iconography. The chariot drawn by four horses is a survival of earlier tradition of Bodh Gayā and Bhājā and belongs to the Hellenistic tradition, while the lotus in the hand and winged shoulders are of the indigenous tradition.[148] But the possibility should not be ruled out that the winged shoulders may be of the Iranian tradition as we find winged shoulders on Kuṣāṇa royal portraits an well as on the figures of the Iranian deity-Pharro on Kuṣāṇa coins.[149] Rosenfield[150] appears to be reasonable when he suggests that the squatting Sūrya images were derived from Kuṣāṇa royal portraits like those on the coins of Vīmā and Huviṣka and not from the Kuṣāṇa coin images of the Sun-god. Of course, the frontal aspect was a product of the earlier tradition.[151] It is to be noted that it was for the first time during the Kuṣāṇa period that the real cult-icons of the Sun-god were produced because in the pre-Kuṣāṇa times the depictions were not meant for the cult-purposes and are found in association with other cults like Buddhism, Jainism and Skanda-cult and were of subsidiary and minor nature.[152] From this point of view the role of the Kuṣāṇas for the development of the Sun-cult in its reoriented form is not less important than their contribution in the origin of the Buddha image. This innovation was conditioned

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148. Srivastava, *op. cit.*, p. 298.
149. Rosenfield, *op. cit.*, p. 96.
150. *Ibid.*, p. 190.
151. *Ibid.*, p. p. 208.
152. Srivastava, *op. cit.*, p. 293.

by the feudalistic economic strulture of the Kuṣāṇas, because the worship of gods in images must have enhanced the prestige of the king who was the son of the god. The master-slave relationship of the times must have gained by this practice. Thus the Kuṣāṇa period was one of the most momentous creative epochs for the evolution of the iconography of the Sun-god which dominated the field for a very long time. The whole concept of the Sun-cult underwent revolutionary changes without any catastrophe as is reflected in the *Sāmba* and the *Bhaviṣya* Purāṇas.[153] The figure No. 269 of the Mathura museum belonging to the Kuṣāṇa period depicts Sūrya as seated in squatting position like a Kuṣāṇa emperor on a chariot drawn by two horses, wearing Indo-Scythian dress consisting of a tunic, trousers and plumb boots. On the head there is a helmet held fast by chaplet and band. He holds a lotus in the right hand and a dagger in the left. There are remnants of the halo at either side of the back and moustaches and fire-altar on the front face of the pedestal.[154] Other figures of Sūrya in the Mathura Museum like Nos. 894, 938, 922, 1006 belonging to the Kuṣāṇa period are modelled like D-46 on Iranian lines.[155] A few images of Sūrya in the Mathura museum of the Kuṣāṇa period show slight variation in the sense that they are seated in the *Bhadrāsana* pose.[156] This poses a problem for its origin from the squatting royal portraits of the Kuṣāṇa. Another small figure of Sūrya in black

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153. Hazra, *Studies,* Vol. I Chapter 26 of the *Sāmba Upa-Purāṇa* relates the coming of the Magas and subsequent chapters narrate the adoption of this tradition in India, See *The Sāmba Purāṇa* tr. in Hindi by V. C. Srivastava, Allahabad, 1975, pp. 93 ff.

154. Agarwala, V. S., *op. cit.,* p. 167.

155. *Ibid.,*

156. Srivastava, *op. cit.,* p. 299.

slate belonging to the Kuṣāṇa period from Jamalgarhi in Gandhara[157] is seen wearing high boots and Atlantos crouches beneath the chariot. It is a survival of earlier tradition with the addition of the high boots. The presence of fire-altars in Sūrya icons from Mathura described above shows that they were made under the impact of the Magian tradition. This is confirmed by the Purāṇas also.[158] The appearance of the solar deity in the Kuṣāṇa garb in squatting pose like that of D-46 of Mathura museum, on one of the merlons in the royal shrine (probably a fire-sanctuary) at Surkh Kotal (Afghanistan)[159] may appear to be minor but its association with a fire temple as well as a dynastic sanctuary tends us to suggest that the sanctuary had something Mithraic in it, the details of which can not be worked out in our present state of knowledge. From the descriptions of the Sun-image in the Multan Sun-temple it appears that it was connected with the Kuṣāṇa tradition of solar iconography and it would be no surprise if this biggest Sun-image (now lost) might have been built by the Kuṣāṇas.[160]

The names—Mihirman and Burzmihrpur in the Surkh Kotal inscription may or may not be typically Kuṣāṇa[161] but on the analogy of similar names with Mihira or Mitra like Varāha-mihira, Mihirakula, Mihiralakṣmī, Bhānumitra, Sūryamitra[162] etc. who appear to be connected with the Sun-cult of the Magian tradition it may be said that these names are actually indicative of the faith of the name-bearer

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157. Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. XXVIII, fig. 3.
158. Hazra, *Studies*, Vol. I.
159. Schlumberger, *op. cit.*,
160. Whitehead, *op. cit.*,
161. Marico, *Journal Asiatique*, p. 367, 396.
162. Srivastava, *op. cit.*,

in the Sun-cult of Mithraic variety. It shows that officials connected with this dynastic fire-sanctuary were specially selected on account of their Mithraic leanings. Similarly the Kuṣāṇa period head from Mathura with a solar emblem on a disc[163] shows the personal affiliation of a common man to the Sun-cult during the Kuṣāṇa period. Even in the Buddhist themes of the Kuṣāṇa period the Sun-god was associated as is evidenced by the Shahi Khan Dheri[164] reliquary of the Kuṣāṇa period and the Bamiyan[165] painting with Sūrya in a chariot of the later Kuṣāṇa period. The association of the Buddha and the Sun-god may be seen in earlier reliefs from Bhājā and Bodh Gayā as well as in some other reliefs.[166] The reasons for this connection remain still obscure. There is a symbolic association of the Buddha with the Sun in the Indian tradition. However, there are a few references to the solar race of Buddha. If the association was due to this dynastic reason as Rosenfield suggests the Sun-god should have been associated with all Buddha reliefs showing his birth but it is not like this. In view of this, the association of the Sun-god and Buddha should be taken as symbolic. It is quite popular that the Buddhists adopted solar theme on account of its popularity and the *Chakravarti* ideal of Buddhism found a symbolic recognition in the solar theme.

From the above review it is clear that the question of the Kuṣāṇas and the Sun-cult has many facets which have not been studied with full justification in the past. The Kuṣāṇas may have adopted Mithraic form of the Sun-cult on account of the pressures of the international movement

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163. Rosenfield, *op. cit.*, fig. 18.
164. Allchin, *op. cit.*,
165. Rowland, *op. cit.*,
166. Rosenfield, *op. cit.*,

of the West Asiatic Mithraism which suited the political and economic ideology of the state and satisfied the popular demand of the nobility, soldiers, traders, and even common man in the *Kushansahar*. This ideology gave strength to the state and satisfied a large section of the social order— soldiers, traders and farmers which ultimately led to the social integration. Soper[167] appears to be right when he says that the Kuṣāṇas had a royal mythology which was connected with Mithraism. Rosenfield's suggestion that there was no independent developed cult of the Sun-god among the Kuṣāṇas[168] appear to be ill-founded in view of the fact that the epoch of the Kuṣāṇas was one of the most creative moments in the history of the Sun-cult as it introduced for the first time actual cult-images of the Sun-god and originated a typical canon of solar iconography on the basis of Kuṣāṇa royal portraits on coins and the earlier indigenous and Hellenistic traditions which produced far-reaching consequences not only for the history of the cult but also for social integration and social mobility[169] as well as for the economic structure and political ideology of subsequent times in India.

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167. *op. cit.,*

168. Rosenfield, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

169. Yadava, B.N.S., Some Aspects of the Changing Order in India During the Śaka Kuṣāṇa Age, in *Kuṣāṇa Studies*, G. R. Sharma (ed.), Allahabad, 1968, pp. 75-97.

A NEWLY DISCOVERED COPPER-PLATE GRANT OF THE KALACHURI PṚTHVĪDEVA-I OF THE YEAR K 834 (1082 A.C.)

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The article throws light on and discusses contents of a hitherto unknown copper-plate grant of King Pṛthvīdeva-I belonging to the South-Kosala branch of the Kalachuris having their seat at Ratnapur (Dist. Bilaspur, M.P.). The grant issued in the Kalachuri Era 834 records donation of a village to a Brahmin on occasion of *Uttarāyaṇa Saṃkrānti* (Winter-solstice).

Introduction

A few months ago an antiquity dealer from Varanasi brought a set of two copper-plates to me in order to enquire whether our Institute[1] would be interested in purchasing them. He had been entrusted with the sale of the plates by someone and was not himself the owner of the plates. The 'owner' had first told him that the plates were procured from some place in Bihar but on further enquiries it turned out that the plates had found their way to this antiquity agent in Varanasi from some place in Madhya Pradesh, probably through some dealer in metal-wares. In spite of the offer of a reasonable price by the Institute the dealer seemed reluctant to part with the plates on the plea or pretext that the present owner at Varanasi expected a much higher price for these documents.

Since the price demanded was exorbitant, the plates were returned to the owner. An ink-impression and a

1. The *Ganganatha Jha Kendriya Sanskrit Vidyapeetha,* Allahabad.

photograph were, however, taken before they were handed back to the dealer so that the trace of these valuable historical documents is not irretrievably lost to the scholars in India in case they find their way to a foreign country, which unfortunately is not improbable these days.

It is obvious from what has been said above that it is presently not possible to determine the find-spot of the plates. May be, later, if the plates are procured by some museum or an institution of learning, we shall be able to have more exact knowledge about their original owner and find-spot.

Description of the Plates

The plates have a breadth and a length of 19 cm and 30 cm respectively. They are rather thin. Their average thickness is approximately 1.3 m.m. They do not seem to have been cast or moulded but beaten out to the above dimensions. The first plate weighs a little more than 600 grams and the second a little less than 600 grams ; together they weigh almost exactly 1200 grams. All the four corners of the first plate are smoothly rounded off ; of the second, however, they are cut out by means of some sharp instrument and are left as such. There were originally holes on the upper edges of the plates almost in the middle but these are now broken out. The joining ring with the seal (if any) is consequently missing. The holes are not symetrically done. It seems that even when the plates were joined by means of a ring, they did not lie exactly one upon another.

The plates are incised only on one side. In view of the above mentioned thinness of the plates, it was perhaps not possible to inscribe them on both sides. The first plate is much better inscribed than the second one. Its charac-

ters are bold and the incision deep. The script of the second one is rather flat and letters here are smaller in size than those upon the first plate. They also lie closer to each other. The first plate contains 15 lines in all whereas the second one contains 17 lines. There are on an average 45 to 48 letters in each line.

There is a clear-cut division in the subject matter of the two plates. Whereas the first plate contains verses describing the geneology of the dynasty beginning with Kārtavīrya Arjuna and making special reference to the three immediate ancestors of the present donor, the second plate, composed mostly in prose, concentrates solely upon the details of the grant. This might lead one to surmise that it was actually only the second plate which was prepared afresh at every grant whereas the first plate could have been readily available in the royal stores.

Special Features of Writing And Orthography

Like in numerous other C.P. grants and stone inscriptions of the Kalachuris, the scribe of our plates has mostly used a dental *sa* for the palatal *śa* (e.g. *l.*3 *sleṣa* for *śleṣa, īsam* for *īśaṃ* *l.*5-6 *sasvat* for *śaśvat*; *l.*8 *saurya* for *śaurya* *l.*11 *sūra* for *śūra*; *l.*17 *vinsati* for *viṃśati* ; *l.*18 *māhesvara* for *māheśvara, kusalī* for *kuśalī* etc.). Once the cerebral *ṣa* has also been rendered with a dental sa (cf. *l.*20 *pausa* for *pauṣa*). He hardly ever distinguishes between the letters *va* and *ba* and almost invariably uses the former for the latter (e.g *l.*4 *vavandha* for *babandha, l.*8 *vabhūvuḥ* for *babhūvuḥ*). An Anusvāra is sometimes rendered with the letter *n* as is the case with *sinha* (=*siṃha*) in the lines 7, 8 and *vinsati* (=*viṃśati*) in the line 17. In line 5 *n* is even used in place of *ñ* (i. e. *sancita* for *sañcita*). The consonants are found to be doubled after a *r* in two cases : *vinirggatāya* (*l.*21) and *bahubhirvvasudhā* (*l.*28).

Some mistakes appear to have crept into the record due to inadvertance of the writer who has not copied the official text correctly on the plates. Mention may be made of the following mistakes which seem to be of this nature:

l.5 *sathāsya* for *athāsya*
l.5 *dharmā-* for *dharma-*
l.7 *darpya* for *darpa*
l.7 *candenu* for *chandela* (*lla*)
l.10 *jānto* for *kānto*
l.12 *abhūta* for *asūta*
l.13 *-totpapta-* for *-tottapta-*
l.18-19 *mano* for *-māno*
l.24 *randra* for *candra*
l.24 *kṣidi* for *kṣiti*
l.25 *sekratām* for *sevyatām*
l.26 *bhūsim* for *bhūmiṃ*
l.27-28 *palam* for *phalam*
l.31 *hārasataḥ* for *hārayataḥ*.

Interesting is also the mode of writing of *e* in अकेस्वर (*l*.22) instead of एकेस्वर. Mistakes like *dyotiḥ* for *jyotiḥ* (*l*.1), *hriṣīkesa* for *hṛṣīkeśa* (*l*.22) or *satyavākyaḥ* for *satyavākyam* probably go to the account of the officer who originally drafted the text of the royal charter.

Many of the verses occurring in our grant are found in the texts of other C.P. grants of the Kalachuris too. A comparison of the two shows that sometimes a few words have been left out in our text. Thus, for example, we have *sasvatsaukhyakṛt* in lines 5-6 whereas the correct reading is *śaśvat satāṃ saukhyakṛt*.

Among the minor mistakes committed by the smith who incised or chiselled the text into the plate, omissions of *anusvāras, visargas* and *halanta* are the most com-

mon one. Thus we have *raḍga* for *raṅga* in *l*.17, *kaliḍga* for *kaliṅga* in *l*.9, *kaustubhama* for *kaustubham* in *l*.11, *vaḍkesvara* for *vaṅkeśvara* in *l*.17, *nātha* for *nāthaḥ* in *l*.17, *pati* for *patiḥ* in *l*.17, *caraṇāravinda* for *caraṇāravindaḥ* in *l*.18, *māhesvara* for *māheśvaraḥ* in *l*.18 and *bhūmi* for *bhūmiṃ* in *l*.27. Some *akṣaras* occurring at the extreme end of the lines, especially in the second plate, have suffered erosion : *āṣānaṃ* (*l*.22-23) for *āsīnaṃ* and *palaṃ* (*l*.28-29) for *phalaṃ* seem to be such cases.

CONTENT OF THE GRANT

The grant which records the donation of a village to a learned Brahmin, was issued by the King Pṛthvīdeva of the Haihaya race who was a son of Ratnarāja, a grandson of Kamalarāja and a great-grandson of Kaliṅgarāja, in the Chedi year 834 on the third day of the bright fortnight of the month *Pauṣa* which was a Sunday. The occasion for making this land-grant was Uttarāyaṇa-Saṃkrānti (winter solstice) on the day when the sun starts moving towards north. The dates mentioned in our grant correspond exactly to 25th December of the year 1082 of the Christian era.

The donee of the grant is a Brahmin named Hṛṣīkeśa, son of Ekeśvara belonging to the gotra of *Gautama* and a student of Vājasaneya branch of white *Yajurveda*. The grant was made in Ratnapur, the newly established royal capital of the South Kośala branch of Kalachuri dynasty, founded by Ratnadeva (1045-1065 A.C.), the father of the donor. The name of the village donated is not distinctly known. It seems to be Śauhaṇā or Vela-Śauhaṇā situated in the Apara-Maṇḍala or the Western part of the South Kosala Kingdom. I do not venture to identify the village

at present.[2] It is interesting that in the other two hitherto known grants of King Pṛthvīdeva too, the donated villages lie in the Apara-Maṇḍala.

The grant was made in the premises of some unnamed temple, obviously of Śiva, with the King sitting on the right of the deity. The text mentions that the desire of the King to grant the land to the said Brahmin was communicated to *Vikrama, Trivikrama* and *Arjuna,* the younger brothers of the father of the king ; as well as to *Vigraharāja,* the [Chief] Minister ; *Yaśas,* the Mayor of the city of Ratnapur and *Keśava Dhodhā,* the royal priest and that all of them approved of the grant.

Then follow seven conventional ślokas praising the merits of the grant of land and exhorting the successive kings not to take away the grant from the successors of the donee.

A Short History of The Donor's Dynasty[3]

The King *Pṛthvīdeva* mentioned as the donor of the

2. It may however be noted in passing that I know of one village whose name is identical with that of our grant. It is *syoñhaḍhā* or *syonḍhā* (*h*+*n*=*aṇusvāra*+*ḍh*) situated on the northern bank of the river Kena in the district of Banda, exactly on the border between M. P. and U. P. It is an ancient village as evidenced by numerous stone ruins belonging to early medieval period. It is famous today for its pungent betel leave creepers (bela). However it looks unlikely that this village formed part of the territory of the rulers of Ratnapur.

3. For this account the author has freely used the scholarly *Introduction* portion of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* Vol. IV, pp. I-CLXXXIX edited by Prof. V. V. Mirashi. The author expresses his deep sense of gratitude to Prof. Mirashi.

grant can undoubtedly be identified with Pṛthvīdeva-I (1065-1090 A.C.) of the South Kosala branch of the Kalachuri dynasty which ruled Chattisgarh region over a territory which is now mostly included in the district of Bilaspur but stretches to some parts of the adjoining districts of Raipur and Raigarh as well. The dynasty was a branch of the Kalachuris of Tripuri who had a long and glorious history with their historical records going back to 6th century A.C. The earlier Kalachuris had their capital at *Māhiṣmatī* on Narmadā river which has been identified with the places *Māheśvara* or *Oṅkārā-Māndhātā* by the scholars. Kalachuris seem to have originally belonged to South Gujarat and North-Mahārāṣṭra region. They called themselves descendants of *Haihaya* race and traced their origin from Kārtavīrya-Arjuna who in Purāṇic records is said to have ruled over Māhiṣmatī. Victory of Kārtavīrya-Arjuna over Rāvaṇa and his confrontation with the Rāma of Bhārgava race (i.e. Paraśurāma) leading to the destruction of a sizable number of Haihayas are too well-known in the legendary history to be reproduced here. According to R. M. Smith the war between the Haihayas and the Bhārgavas took place in ca. 1310 B.C.[4] The Haihayas remained in oblivion for about a thousand years holding perhaps small principalities inside the triangle formed by Indore, Broach and Nasik till in the early centuries of Christian era they forged up, probably first as the feudatories of stronger powers like Sātavāhanas, Abhīras, Western Kṣatrapas, Chālukyas and Vākāṭakas and later as independent rulers with their seat at Māhiṣmatī, their ancient legendary capital on the banks of Narmadā.

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4. R. Morton Smith, *Dates and Dynasties in earliest India*, Delhi 1973, pp. 26, 27, 166, 167.

In the 7th and 8th centuries the Haihayas were again reduced to the status of vassals of Chālukyas though their family was still considered to be so illustrous that their overlords, the Chālukyas very frequently took the daughters of this family as their consorts. After the death of Harṣavardhana of Kānnauj and the confusion that prevailed thereafter in North India, the Kalachuris of Māhiṣmatī grabbed the opportunity to become independent rulers in North. They overran large tracts of Bundelkhand and Baghelkhand and established themselves at Kālañjara and from there made further conquests into the region of *Sarayūpāra* (modern Pratapgarh and Rai Bareli districts). Since the geographical name of the Bundelkhand-Baghelkhand tract (especially of the latter) in the Purāṇas is *cedi*, the Kalachuris henceforward came to be known as *cedīśa* or the Rulers of Cedi-country.

The Kalachuri power was at its ascendent at this time (7th-8th c.) and they controlled a vast territory from *Gomati* in the North to *Narmadā* in the South. It was during this time that Vāmarāja, the powerful monarch responsible for most of these northern conquests, transferred his main capital from Māhiṣmatī to Tripurī (Tewar), six miles west of Jabalpur. The northern portion of his empire must have been controlled by some trusted governor with his administrative seat at Kālañjara fort (Dist. Banda).

After a short period of decline during which the Kalachuris at Tripuri had to accept the overlordship of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and perhaps also to lose some parts of their territory in North, there emerged an extremely powerful monarch on the throne of Tripurī, King Kokkala-I (also found to be written as *Kokkalla*). In fact it is he who is hailed as the founder of the Tripuri lineage of the Kala-

churis in their later records. Kokkala married a Chandella princess, made matrimonial alliance with the Rāṣṭrakūṭas and helped the Rāṣṭrakūṭas as well as Gujara-Pratihāras (of Kannauj) in wars against their foes, the Eastern Chālukyas and the Pālas of Bengal respectively. Our plates (*l*.6-7) give him credit of conquering the ruler of Malwa, of destroying the pride of the king of Gauḍa and of plundering the territory of the Chandellas.

Kokkala is reported to have 18 sons in our (see pl. I, *l*.7-8) as well as other grants.[5] Whereas he instated his eldest son (Śaṅkaragaṇa, also referred to in later records with his titles *Mugdhatuṅga* and *Prasiddha-dhavala*) on the throne of Tripuri, the others he amicably settled all over his vast kingdom by allotting them sufficiently big maṇḍalas to rule.

One of these 17 sons, whose name has not come down to us, was awarded the territory of *Dakṣiṇa-Kosala*. He established his capital at Tummāṇa (Tumāṇ) presently in Bilaspur district, in ca. 900 A.C. and founded the South Kosal branch of the Kalachuris. The rulers of Tummāṇa all along their long history looked upon Tripuri as the chief capital of their family and stuck with unflinching and exemplary loyality to the house of Tripuri. With certain ups and downs, this dynasty in South Kosala continued to rule Chhatisgarh, especially Bilaspur-Raipur region, down to the times of Marathas (18th c.), long after the main house of the Kalachuris was ousted for ever from Tripuri in 14th century by the Muslims. It is with this South Kosala branch of the Kalachuris, that our grant is connected.

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5. Vide, *C.I.I.*, IV, ii, grant No. 7.

Test of The Grant

Plate I

1. ॐ नमो ब्रह्मणे। निर्गुणं व्यापकं नित्यं शिवं परमकारणम्। भावग्राह्यं परं
   द्यो [ज्यो] तिस्तस्मै श [स] द् ब्रह्मणे नमः ॥ [१]॥ यदे-

2. तदग्रेसरमम्बरस्य ज्योतिः स पूषा पुरुषः पुराणः स[?ग्व ? अ] थास्य
   पुत्रो मनुरादिराजस्तदन्वयेभूद् भुवि कार्त्तवीर्यः॥[२]॥ देवः

3. श्री कार्त्तवीर्यः क्षितिपतिरभवद् भूषणं भूतधात्र्या हेलोत्क्षिप्ताद्रिविभ्यत्तुहिन-
   गिरिसुतास्ले [श्ले] ष संतोषितेसम्। दोर्दण्डा-

4. काण्डसेतुप्रतिगमितमहावारिरेवाप्रवाहव्याधूतत्र्यक्षपूजागुरुजनितरुषं रावणं यो
   व[ब]व[ब]न्ध ॥[३] ॥ तद्वंशप्रभवा नरे-

5. न्द्रपतयः ख्याताः क्षितौ हैहयास्तेषामन्वयभूषणं रिपुमनोविन्यस्ततापानलः ॥
   धर्मा[र्म] ध्यानधनानुसन्चि [ञ्चि] तधियां स-

6. स्व[श्श]त्[सतां*]सौख्यकृत्। प्रेयान् सर्वगुणान्वितः प्रभुतया श्रीमानभूत्कोक्कलः॥
   [४]॥ आदिष्टदण्डजितमालवभूमिपालः। संग्राम-

7. रङ्ग [ङ्ग] गतसत्रुसमूहकालः। गोडेशमत्तकरिदर्प्य [र्पं] विनाशसिन्ह
   [सिं०] श्चन्देनु [ल्ल] भूपतनुदेशधनापहारः ॥[५]॥ अष्टादसा[शा]रिक-

8. रिकुंभविभंग सिन्हा [सिं०] पुत्रा व [ब] भूवुरतिसौ [शौ]र्य पराश्च तस्य। तत्रा-
   ग्रजो नृपवरस्त्रिपुरीश आसीत्पार्श्वे च मण्डलपतीन् स

9. चकार व[ब]न्धून् ॥[६]॥ तेषामनूजस्य कलिङ्ग[ङ्ग] राजः प्रतापवह्निक्ष-
   पितारिराजः। जातोन्वये द्विष्टरिपुप्रवीरप्रियाननाम्भोरुह-

10. पार्वणेन्दुः ॥[७]॥ तस्मादपि प्रततनिर्म्मल कीर्त्ति जा [?का] न्तो जातः सुतः
    कमलराज इति प्रसिद्धः। यस्य प्रतापतरणावुदिते रज-

11. न्यां जातानि पंकजवनानि विकासभांजि ॥[८]॥ महीभर्तृविभूषाय पयोधिरिव
    कौस्तुभम [म्]। जितसू[शू]र प्रतापं हि रत्नराजम-

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* Supplied from the Bilaigarh plates of Pṛthvīdeva-II, I, 4 (*C.I.I.*, IV, pt. 89).

PLATE No. 1

12. भू[?सू] त सः ॥[९]॥ दृप्तविद्विष्टसामन्तमत्तद्विरदकेसरी। यस्य प्रतापत-
प्त्यैव सं[शं] त्यायाब्धिं श्रिता द्विषः ॥[१०]॥ ततः पृथ्वीदेवः

13. सकलधरणीमंडनमणिः समुत्पन्नः श्रीमान् बुधजनमनोम्भोजतरणिः। प्रतापाग्नौ
यस्य ज्वलति सततोत्प [त्त]प्त-

14. हृदयैन्निलीनं सामात्यैर्जंतुकृतशरीरैरिव परैः ॥[११]॥ यस्मिन् महीमवति नीति-
विचारसारे वातोप्यवर्त्मनि पदं न

15. करोति कोन्यः। धर्माध्वनिष्ठितमतौ च नं दैवतोपि लोकेषु नूनमुप [घात*]
बलोदयोस्ति ॥[१२]॥

Plate II

16. अयं रत्नपुरात् युगलसं [शं] खध्वनिपूरित धमस... [?धर्मसभ ?] संयुक्त
जगत्कंपतूर्यरवत्रासितारातिचक्र[ः]दे-

17. वश्रीमद्वङ्क [ङ्क] स्वरवरलब्धप्रसादैकविन्स [विंश] तिसहस्रैकनाथ [ः]
महाप्रचण्डसकलकोसलाधिपति [ः] निःसे[शे] षम-

18. ण्डलेस्व[श्व]रवन्दितचरणारविन्द [ः] परममाहेस्व [श्व] र [ः] कलचुरिवंसो [शो]
द्भवेत्यादि समस्तराजावलीविराजम[मा]

19. नो[न] महामण्डलेस्व [श्व] रः कुस [श] ली महादेवीमहाराजपुत्रमहामात्य-
पुरोहितप्रतीहाराक्षपटलिकप्रभृतीन् समा-

20. दिस [श] ति समाज्ञापयति च यथा विदितमस्तुभवनी [?ती-तां] यपरे बेल [?]
शौहणाग्रामश्चतुराघाटविसु [शु] द्धो पौस [ष] शुक्लतृतीयायां र-

21. विदिने उत्तरायणसंक्रान्तौ पणि (?लि) कपदविनिर्गताय गौतमगोत्राय
गौतमौतथ्याङ्गिरसेति त्रिप्रवराय वाजसनेय-

22. सा [शा] खिने.....[?]....स्वामिन अेकेस्व [श्व] रसुताय ब्राह्मणह्रि [हृ]
षीकेस[श] नाम्ने स्नात्वा सकलसुरासुरगुरुं भगवन्तमासा [?सी]-

23. नमभ्यर्च्य देवदक्षिणमूर्त्तौ पादौ प्रक्षाल्य कुसा[शा] क्षतहिरण्यसमन्वितवारि-
चुलुकमापूर्य मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्ययसो [शो]-

* Supplied from Amoda plates, l, 21 (*C.I.I.*, IV, pl. 76).

24. भिवृद्धये हस्तोदकसा [शा] सनतया प्रदत्तस्तदेतच्छासनं र [?च] न्द्रदिवाकर-
क्षिदि [ति] नदीस [श] पवनाम्बराणि यावदवच्छिन्न [भुक्त्या]

25. तत्पुत्रपौत्रादिभिश्च सेक [?व्य] ताम् ।। त्रिविक्रमो विक्रमश्चादि तथार्जुनः
सु[शु?] भान्विताः । भ्रातरो रत्नराजस्य तेषामपि [?] सत्यवाक्यः [म्]।। [१३]

26. अथास्य यो विग्रहराजमन्त्री श्रेष्ठी यशो रत्नपुरप्रधानः । धोधाभिधानो द्विज-
केशवश्च सदादरञ्चात्र ददुर्भुवा [व] ञ्च [?] ।। [१४] ।। भूसि[मिं] यः

27. प्रतिगृह्णाति यश्च भूमि [मिं] प्रयच्छति । उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्माणौ नियतं
स्वर्गगामिनौ ।। [१५]।। सं [शं] खं भद्रासनं छत्रं वरास्वा [श्वा] वर...
[?वारणाः?]

28. भूमिदानस्य चिह्नानि फलमेतत् पुरन्दर ।। [१६] ।। बहुभिर्व्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः
सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदाप [फ]

29. लम् ।। [१७] ।। स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा॰ यो हरेत वसुन्धराम् । सुनां योनिसतं
गत्वा विष्ठायां जायते कृमिः । [१८] ।। तडागाना [म्] सहस्रेण

30. वाजपेयसतेन च । गवां कोटिप्रदानेन भूमिहर्ता न सु [शु] ध्यति ।। [१९] ।।
हरते हारयते यो मंदबुद्धिस्तमोवृतः । स बद्धो वारु-

31. णैः पाशैस्तिर्यग्योनिं च गच्छति ।।[२०] ।। अन्यायेन हृता भूमिरन्यायेन च
हारिता । हरतो हारस[?य] तश्चा [?चैव] दहत्यासप्तमं कुलम् ।।[२१]।।

32. चेदीशानां संवत् ८३४

Translation

v.1. Oṃ, Obeisance to Brahman. Obeisance to that Existent Brahman who is the Highest Effulgence, who can be comprehended only by achieving His own state, One Who is without qualities, All-pervading and Eternal and Who is the Supreme Cause (of the Universe) in form of Śiva.

v.2. This which is the foremost light (or luminary) of the heaven, that ancient personality is (known as) Pūṣan (Sun-god). Now, his son Manu was the first ruler of the earth. In his family was born Kārtavīrya.

v.3. The King Kārtavīrya became (=developed himself to be) an ornament of the earth. He pleased Śiva by playfully raising the mountain (Kailāśa) [off the ground] so that the daughter of the Himālaya (Pārvatī) got frightened and embraced Him (i.e. her consort, Śiva). He imprisoned (lit. bound) Rāvaṇa who had become extremely angree with him because he had reversed the flow of the huge streams of Revā (Narmadā) by constructing an unexpected (or unusual) dam in it with his (one thousand) mighty arms.

v.4. The Kings born in his family were known as *Haihaya-s*. An ornament of the clan of Haihayas, one who had placed the fire of sorrow and anxiety[6] in the hearts of his foes, was there born the glorious *Kokkala* enjoying (unrestrained) overlordship, endowed with all noble qualities, a favourite of those who had purified their intellect through the wealth of righteous deeds and meditational practices whom he constantly pleased.

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6. With these expressions I translate the Sanskrit word *tāpa*. Though not literally correct, I do not think that the actual sense of this Sanskrit word can better be denoted by any other word.

v.5. He conquered the ruler of Malwa with a view to inflict punishment[7] upon him (or, he ordered his armies[7] to conquer the ruler of Malwa). He was Death incarnate for the adversaries confronting him in the battle field. He was like a lion for the destruction of the pride of the elephant in form of the king of Gauḍa. He plundered wealth from the attenuated (=weak?) country of the king of the Chandellas.

v.6. With eighteen sons he (Kokkala) was blessed, all extremely valiant, who were like lions to split the temples of the elephants in form of their enemies. The eldest of them became the lord of Tripuri and he placed his brothers in charge of provinces (or principalities, *maṇḍalas*) in the neighbourhood around Tripurī.

v.7. In the family of one of the younger brothers was born [a ruler named] *Kaliṅgarāja* who destroyed the enemy kings with the fire of his valour. He was like a moon of the fullmoon-night for [contracting or withering] the lotuses in the form of the faces of the wives of the brave soldiers of his hated adversaries.

v.8. The son born of him was known as *Kamalarāja*. He became lovable due to his wide-spread, immaculate glory. The sun of his valour shone so brightly in the world that the lotus flowers remained open even in the night.

v.9. Just as the Ocean had produced *Kaustubha*, the king of the jewels which outshines the efful-

7. The Sanskrit word *daṇḍa* can be translated either as 'punishment' or as 'army' (Cf. the words like *daṇḍanāyaka*, *daṇḍādhipati*).

PLATE No. 2



gence of sun, to serve as an ornament for Viṣṇu, so begot this king [a son named] *Ratnarāja* (lit. the king of the jewels) who conquered the valour of the mighty to serve as an ornament for the rulers of this earth.

v.10. He was like a lion for the haughty elephants in form of the Vassals of his enemy. It seemed that his enemies had taken shelter in the ocean because they were oppressed by the excessive heat of his valour (*pratāpa=heat/valour*).

v.11. From him was born the glorious Pṛthvīdeva, an ornament for the whole of earth. Since the enemies together with their officers were being constantly heated (oppressed) by the fire of his valour (*pratāpa*) they soon melted away as if their bodies were formed of lac.

v.12. While he, the embodiment of the quintessence of Nīti, is ruling over the earth, not even the Wind dares to set its step on a wrong path, what to talk of others? Not even the divine calamities strike the earth with him [on the throne] whose thoughts are firmly established on the path of *Dharma*.

(*ll*.16-20) After filling up the hall of the religious assembly with the blow of a pair of conch, having scared away the circle of his enemies with the world-shaking sound of the bugle, this (Pṛthvīdeva), who is a lord of twentyone thousand (villages) through the grace of the glorious Vaṅkeśwara, very strong, the overlord of the whole of Kosala country, whose lotus-feet are adored by all the provincial rulers, one who is

a great devotee of Śiva, a scion of the family of Kalachuris etc., sitting together with all (his subordinate) rulers in Ratnapur, hale and hearty, orders and commands his queen-consort crown-prince, chief-minister, the royal priest, the security officer, the record-keeper etc., as follows :

(*ll*.20-24) May it be known to you that the village (*Vela-*?) *Sauhaṇā* (situated) in the Yapara (=apara) [Maṇḍala][8] with all its four boundaries well marked, has been donated on the occasion of the *Uttarāyaṇa-Saṃkrānti,* on the third day of the bright fortnight of the month of Pauṣa, a Sunday, with the King having taken a bath, having worshipped the Lord installed there who is the preceptor of all the gods and demons—while standing on the right of the deity and having filled up his hands with water containing blades of Kuśa grass, rice-grains and gold, by means of the royal-order symbolised by the ceremony of pouring out water from hand, to the Brahmin Hṛṣīkeśa by name, son of Ekeśvara

8. Only two other C.P. grants of Pṛthvīdeva-I (*Raipur* and *Amoda*) have been discovered so far (vide *C.I.I.,* IV, ii, 398-409). It is strange that all these three plates mention the name of the region in which the donated village is situated as *Yapara*. Prof. Mirashi rightly observes that this is a corrupt form of the word *apara* meaning *apara-maṇḍala* or the Western province of the Kingdom. Raibahadur Hiralal who edited the Amoda plates for the first time in ***Epigraphia Indica,*** XXX, 75f. read this word as *Yayapara-Maṇḍala* and identified *yayapara* with *Jaijaipur* in Janjgir Tehsil of Bilaspur (*C.I.I.*, IV, ii, 404). The reading is open to doubt. It may as well be *Yat pare.*

belonging to the lineage (gotra) of Gautama, having the threefold *pravara* of Gautama-Autathya-Āṇgirasa and a student of the Vājasaneya branch (of the Veda) with a view to enhance the religious merits and glory of his parents as well of himself.

(*l*.24-25) Let this grant be enjoyed by him, his sons and grandsons etc. so long as there are moon and sun, the earth, the ocean (s), the air and the sky (or space).

(v.13) The auspicious Trivikrama, one with Vikrama in the beginning [of his name] (the name is probably *Vikramarāja*)[9] and Arjuna; these (are) the brothers of Ratnarāja (the father of Pṛthvīdeva, hence his uncles). They have also approved [of this grant] (lit. "there exists their yes-word too").

(v.14) Further, his (Chief) minister whose name is Vigraharāja, the prosperous (businessman) Yasas, who is [presently] the mayor of the city of Ratnapur and the Brahmin Keśava, popularly known as *Dhodhā,* all these respectfully granted (i.e. approved of) the land [to Hṛṣīkeśa].

CONVENTIONAL VERSES

(v.15-21) One who accepts the grant of a land and one who makes such a grant, both are meritorious and [both of them] definitely go to heaven. A conch, throne, umbrella, nice horses and nice elephants, O Indra, these are the characteristic

9. Cf. Raipur plates of Pṛthvīdeva-I of the year K 821, *C.I.I.*, IV, ii, p. 400.

features of a person who has donated land [in his previous births]. Many kings beginning with Sagara (or, like Sagara etc.) have granted land [during their rule over the earth]. The merit of the grant accrues to him who at that time is holding that land. One who snatches away the land given by him or by others is reborn as a worm in feces after having undergone a hundred lives of a dog before. One who takes away the land is not purified even if he gifts one thousand water-tanks, performs one hundred Vājapeya sacrifices or gives away one crore cows. The stupid, surrounded by ignorance, who takes away the land [of others] as well as the one who lets it be taken away [by force] are bound with the snares of Varuṇa and descend to the lives of animals. Land taken away unjustly or surrendered without any justification, burns the seven generations of the snatcher as well as of the surrenderer :

[In] the era of the Rulers of Chedi, 834.

Historical Analysis of The Text

Two previous C.P. grants of the King Pṛthvīdeva-I (1065-1090 A.C.), have already come to light and are included in the C.I.I., Vol. IV. They were discovered from Raipur and Amoda (Bilaspur) in the years 1945 and 1924 respectively. The first was issued in the Kalachuri year 821 (1069 A.C.) and the second in the year 831 of the same era (=1079 A.C.). The object of the first inscription is to record the grant of a village (Asauṭhā) on the occasion of the Uttarāyaṇa Saṃkrānti whereas the second one records the donation of another village on the occasion of the construction of a quadrangular hall in the temple of Vaṅkeśvara at

Tummāṇa, the ancient capital of the Kalachuris of South Kosala. It is interesting that both these villages as well as the village mentioned in the present grant are said to be situated in Apara-maṇḍala (written *Yapara-maṇḍala* in all the three plates) which according to Prof. Mirashi denotes the western part of the kingdom of the South Kosala branch of Kalachuris.

Many of the verses in the present grant describing the geneology of the kings of south Kosala are identical with similar verses in the other two grants of Pṛthvīdeva-I, especially in the Amoda-plates. In the Raipur grant, the first plate containing the majority of such verses is missing. The later C.P. grants of this dynasty use different, much more embellished, Ślokas for the description of their dynastic history. The present C.P. grant as well as a few other later records[10] describe Pṛthvīdeva as a very religious and righteous king. None of the inscriptions ascribe any political conquest to this king. It seems that Pṛthvīdeva by his nature was more interested in the persuit of religion and more dedicated to the welfare of his subject than to the satisfaction of his political ambitions. Besides constructing a hall at the temple of Vaṇkeśvara, he dedicated a separate temple to Lord Śiva at Tummāṇa and named it *Pṛthvīdeveśvara*. At Ratnapur he constructed a huge water tank "which looked like an ocean". Our C.P. grant says that "during his reign not even Wind dared to set its foot on a wrong path, what to talk to others" and that "because of his righteous nature not even the natural calamities strike the people of his kingdom". The Akaltara stone inscription

10. *Akaltarā* stone inscription of Ratnadeva II (*C.I.I.*, IV, 430ff.) and Kori stone inscription of Pṛthvīdeva-II (*C.I.I.*, IV, 463ff).

of Ratnadeva-II identifies Pṛthvīdeva-I with king Pṛthu of ancient times (a partial incarnation of Viṣṇu) and describes him as "an elephant for destroying the lotus-pond in from of the degenerative tendencies of the Kali age", "the one who has gained fame due to truth and renunciation", "the *Dharma* incarnate" and " a strong tree for supporting the creeper of pious deeds" etc. :

जातस्तस्मात् कलिकमलिनीकुंजरः ख्यातकीर्त्तिः
सत्यत्यागप्रथितमहिमा नीतिमानर्कतेजाः।
साक्षाद्धर्मः सुचरितलतालम्बनप्रौढशाखी
पृथ्वीदेवः पृथुरिव जगन्माननीयो नृपेन्द्रः॥[11]

The following verse occuring in the Koni stone inscription of Pṛthvīdeva-II pronounces a high degree of praise on the administrative ability of Pṛthvīdeva-I :

तुंमाणेशः कलचुरिकुले निर्म्मलप्रौढकीर्त्तिः
विश्वं शश्वत्सुकृतशरणं स्थापयन् दण्डनीत्या।
पूर्वं गर्वोत्तरनरपतिध्वान्तविध्वंसभास्वान्
पृथ्वीदेवो नृपतिरभवद् भूषणं भूतधात्र्याः॥[12]

The peaceful nature of Pṛthvīdeva becomes all the more apparent when we contrast it with the aggressive policies of his son Jājalladeva-I (1091-1120 A.C.).[13]

The following verse occurring in the geneological portion of the present C.P. grant is not found anywhere else in the inscriptions of Kalachuris :

आदिष्टदण्डजितमालवभूमिपालः
संग्रामरंगगतशत्रुसमूहकालः।
गौडेशमत्तकरिदर्प्पविनाशसिंहः
चन्देल्लभूपतनुदेशघनापहारः॥

11. Cf. *C.I.I.*, Vol. IV, ii, 432.

12. *Ibid*, p. 467.

13. *Ibid*, Vol. I, Introduction, cxxiii—cxxv.

This verse throws some welcome light on the exploits of Kokalla-I, the lord of Tripuri who is described as the progenitor of the South Kosala branch of the Kalachuris. No inscription of this King has yet come to light. However, three later inscriptions (Bilhāri, Benaras and Amoda, No :¦ 45, 48, and 76 of *C. I. I.)* furnish some details about him. In the above verse Kokkala-I is credited with victories over Malwa, Gauḍa and Chandellas. The verse 17 of the Bilhari stone inscription of Yuvarājadeva-II mentions that "after conquering the whole earth, king Kokkala established two pillars of victory in the south and north in the form of Kṛṣṇarāja and Bhojadeva"—

> जित्वा कृत्स्नां येन पृथ्वीमपूर्वं
> कीर्तिस्तम्भद्वन्द्वमारोप्यते स्म ।
> कौम्भोद्भव्यां दिश्यसौ कृष्णराजः
> कौबेर्यां च श्रीनिधिर्भोजदेवः ॥

The Kṛṣṇarāja of this verse seems to be identical with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Kṛṣṇa-II whom Kokkala had given his daughter in marriage. Malwa was a protectorate of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas created to check the advance of the Pratihāras. The fight in Malwa seems to have taken place between the Gurjara-Pratihāras and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas in which Kokkala obviously supported the armies of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas with whom he was matrimonially allied.

The battle seems to have been decided in favour of the allied forces of Kalachuris and Rāṣṭrakūṭas and thereafter king Kṛṣṇa-II was firmly established on his throne as the ruler of the south.

The establishment of the second pillar of victory in form of Bhojadeva and the "destruction of the pride of the king of Gauḍa (Bengal)" also seem to be connected with

each other. Bhojadeva-II is certainly the contemporary Pratihāra king of Kannauj of the same name (Bhoja-I) who was attacked by Devapāla (810-855 A.C.), the mighty ruler of Bengal. Kokkala seems to have espoused the cause of the Pratihāra king and saved him from getting dethroned.

As for his act of plundering the weak kingdom of the Chandellas is concerned, it seems to have a historical basis. From the Benaras plates of the illustrous Karṇadeva (K. 793) we know that Kokkala-I married a Chandella princess named *Naṭṭādevī* who became his chief queen, cf. :

शचीमिवेन्द्रः कमलामुपेन्द्रो नगेन्द्रकन्यामिव चन्द्रमौलिः ।
चन्देल्लवंशप्रभवा सुशीला नट्टाख्यदेवीं स तु पर्य्यणैषीत् ।।
(v. 8)

It seems that his conquest of the chandellas preceded his marriage with Naṭṭādevī. After the Chandella King was defeated he seems to have made peace with this powerful Kalachuri King and to strengthen his relations with him, he gave his daughter (?) to him in matrimony.

The Benaras plates of Karṇa further mention that Kokkala gave protection from fear to Śrīharṣa, the lord of Chitrakūṭa :

भोजे वल्लभराजे श्रीहर्षे चित्रकूटभूपाले।
शंकरगणे च राजनि यस्यासीदभयदः पाणिः ।।

It was Kielhorn who first suggested[14] that this Śrīharṣa is identical with homonymous prince of the Chandella dynasty. Prof. Mirashi expresses doubt as to the occupation of Chitrakūṭa during this period by the Chandellas. Since according to the Khajurāho inscription it was Yaśo-

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14. *Ep.Ind. II,* 301f.

varman, the son of Śrīharṣa, who first annexed the hill of Kālañjara, he thinks that the Chandella Śrīharṣa did not rule in north as far as Chitrakūṭa. He consequently prefers to identify this Śrīharṣa with the Guhila prince of the same name who was ruling over Mewar with Chitrakūṭa (=Chittauḍa) as its capital.[15]

I think that Kielhorn was right in identifying Śrīharṣa mentioned in the Benaras plates of Karṇa with the Chandella ruler of the same name. There is no likelihood of Kokkala rendering help to such a distant king as the ruler of Mewar with whom he hardly had any common interests. With Chandellas he was matrimonially allied and hence duty-bound to help them in distress. It is not improbable that the Chandellas with their capital at Mahotsavapur (Mahoba) held their sway over the hills of Chitrakūṭa during the reign of Śrīharṣa. It is, however, also possible that the description in the Benares plates projects present into the past. Since during the time of Karṇa (middle of 11th C.) Chitrakūṭa was held by the Chandellas, his court-poets made the slip of making Śrīharṣa, living 200 years ago, the ruler of Chitrakūṭa. Whetever it may be, there is absolutely no convincing reason why this Śrīharṣa should not be identified with the Chandella ruler of the same name, who was probably the father or the brother of the queen-consort of Kokkala, the princess Naṭṭādevī.

Our C.P. grant casually mentions one more fact of considerable historical significance which is not known from other records. The verse 13 of our record tells that the grant was approved of (or attested by) Trivikrama, Vikramarāja and Arjuna, the brothers of Ratnarāja —

15. *C.I.I.*, IV, Introduction, ixxv.

त्रिविक्रमो विक्रमदश्चादिः तथार्जुनः शुभान्विताः।
भ्रातरो रत्नराजस्य तेषामपि सत्यवाक्यम् ।।

The names of these three persons are known from the other two records of Pṛthvīdeva-I too (Raipur grant *l*.12-13, Amoda grant *l*.32-34) but it is only in this record that they are described as the brothers of Ratnarāja. Prof. Mirashi while translating the Raipur and Amoda grants (*C. I.I.*, IV, 75, 76) presumes that these were the three "witnesses" to the grant.[16] There identity is, however, established beyond doubt through our grant. Ratnarāja is explicitly mentioned as the father of Pṛthvīdeva in V.9 of our grant. The three persons, therefore, were none else than the uncles of Pṛthvīdeva whose blessings he sought for this grant with a view to express his deep respect towards them in the absence of his father. At present I cannot conceive of any administrative reason for seeking their approval.

I would not prefer the possible interpretation of taking the word 'Ratnarāja' in the sense "The king of Ratna pur", i. e. Pṛthvīdeva himself, thus making him seek the blessings of his *brothers* for the grant, though this act might well have an administrative significance.

16. *C.I.I.*, IV, ii, 403.

प्राचीन भारतीय कला में कल्पवृक्ष

रंजना कोछड़

इलाहाबाद

The author examines the concept and nature of Kalpavṛkṣa (the "wishfulfilling tree"), and deals with its depiction in Indian plastic art and literature.

कल्पवृक्ष भारतीय कला एवं संस्कृति का वह मनोरम अभिप्राय है, जिसकी परम्परा लोक के अधिक निकट एवं कल्पना अत्यन्त मधुर है। यह पौराणिक अभिप्राय है; इसकी उत्पत्ति मिथकों व दन्तकथाओं से आच्छादित है। कल्पवृक्ष से तात्पर्य एक ऐसे वृक्ष से है जिसकी छत्र-छाया में मनोवांछित संकल्पों की पूर्ति तत्काल हो जाती है। शब्दकल्पद्रुम[1] में भी कल्पवृक्ष का यही अर्थ बताया गया है। ऐसी धारणा है कि इस वृक्ष की शाखाओं-प्रशाखाओं से विभिन्न प्रकार के भोज्य पदार्थ एवं व्यंजन, मनमोहक पुष्प व सुस्वादिष्ट फल, सुखी मिथुन व रूपसी कामिनियाँ, विविध वाद्य, अनेक प्रकार के सुन्दर वस्त्र व सुवर्ण-रजत आभूषण आदि उत्पन्न होते रहते हैं। इसीलिए इसे 'कामदुधा' कहा गया है।[2] कला में इसके इसी रूप का दिग्दर्शन होता है। दुकूल वस्त्र, पनसाकृति पात्रों में भरा हुआ उत्तम मधु, आम्राकृति पात्रों में भरा हुआ लाक्षाराग, सिर, कान, ग्रीवा, भुजाओं एवं पैरों के आभूषण और स्त्री-पुरुषों की मिथुन मूर्तियाँ—सब का जन्म कल्पवृक्ष और कल्पलताओं से दिखाया गया है। भरहुत व साँची के स्तूपों पर तो ये कल्पवृक्ष व कल्पलताएँ अपने सुन्दरतम रूप में उत्कीर्ण हैं। शुंगकाल से लेकर गुप्त काल तक इसे विविध मनोरंजक रूपों में आकल्पित किया गया है।

कल्पवृक्ष के लिए कल्पतरु, कल्पद्रुम, कल्पविटप, कल्पपादप, सुरतरु तथा देवतरु आदि नाम प्रचलित हैं। अमरकोष[3] में कल्पवृक्ष, पारिजात, मन्दार, सन्तान व हरिचन्दनम् ये पाँच देवताओं के वृक्ष बताये गये हैं। इससे स्पष्ट है कि कल्पवृक्ष व

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१. शब्दकल्पद्रुम (वरदाप्रसाद वसु एवं हरिचरण वसु द्वारा सम्पादित, चौखम्बा संस्कृत सीरीज़ आफिस, वाराणसी), भाग २, काण्ड २, पृ० ६४।

२. वासुदेवशरण अग्रवाल, स्टडीज इन इण्डियन आर्ट, पृ० ४८।

३. पंचैते देवतरवो मन्दारः पारिजातकः।
संतानः कल्पवृक्षश्च पुंसि वा हरिचन्दनम्॥ अमरकोष, १।१।५०।

पारिजात दो भिन्न-भिन्न वृक्ष थे, परन्तु कालान्तर में पारिजात का प्रयोग भी कल्पवृक्ष के ही अर्थ में होने लगा। कला में इसका कल्पलता या कल्पवल्लरी वाला रूप ही अधिक लोकप्रिय है जो कल्पवृक्ष का ही रूपान्तर है।

कल्पवृक्ष की कल्पना पूर्णतः स्वदेशीय है; इस पर किसी विदेशी तत्व का प्रभाव परिलक्षित नहीं होता; यही कारण है कि भारतीय साहित्य व आख्यान कल्पवृक्ष के वर्णन से भरे पड़े हैं। भारतीय उपाख्यानों में कल्पवृक्ष की उत्पत्ति की कथा अत्यन्त मनोरंजक रूप में वर्णित है। इसका जन्म समुद्र से माना गया है।[४] देवों व असुरों द्वारा किये गये समुद्र-मंथन के फलस्वरूप चौदह रत्नों के साथ स्वर्ग की अप्सराओं को प्रसन्न करनेवाला पारिजात वृक्ष उत्पन्न हुआ जिसके फूलों की सुगन्ध से सारा संसार सुगन्धित हो गया।[५] समुद्र-मन्थन की इस कथा का चित्रण भारतीय कला की विविध शैलियों के अन्तर्गत प्रचुरता से हुआ है।[६] वैष्णव धर्म के विकास के फलस्वरूप इस प्रसंग का भव्य अंकन वृहत्तर भारत की कला में भी दृष्टिगत होता है।[७] महाभारत[८] व पुराण[९] भी इसकी पुष्टि करते हैं। पौराणिक कथाओं के अनुसार समुद्र-मन्थन

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४. बी० एम० बेडेकर, "दी लीजेण्ड ऑफ द चर्निंग ऑफ द ओशन इन द एपिक्स एण्ड दी पुरानाज"—पुराणम्, खण्ड ९, संख्या १, जनवरी, १९६७, पृ० ७-६१; रामायण, १।४५।१८, श्रीहर्ष, नैषध, पूर्व, ६-८०।

५. कुमारस्वामी एवं निवेदिता, मिथ्स ऑफ दी हिन्दूज एण्ड बुद्धिस्ट, पृ० ३१५।

६. अमृत-मन्थन का यह सुप्रसिद्ध आख्यान सर्वप्रथम गुप्तकाल में निर्मित उदयगिरि के गुप्त मन्दिर पर अंकित किया गया है; यही अभिप्राय पश्चिमी व परवर्ती चालुक्यों के काल में बादामी में अनेक बार उत्कीर्ण हुआ; कालान्तर में १२वीं शताब्दी में यह काकतीयों के मार्चला स्थित मन्दिर पर रंगीन चित्रकारी के रूप में अभिलिखित है: सी० शिवराममूर्ति, साउथ इण्डियन पेन्टिंग्स, पृ० ९७ चित्र ५१; राजस्थान की कला में भी इसका चित्रण हुआ है। चित्तौड़ दुर्ग में स्थित ८वीं शताब्दी के कालिका माता के मन्दिर, नागदा के मन्दिर एवं जगत् तथा जगदेश्वर के अम्बिका माता के मन्दिर में यह दर्शनीय है: रत्नचन्द्र अग्रवाल, महाभारत, खण्ड १३, सं० २, जुलाई १९६५, पृ० २-३।

७. शिवराममूर्ति, सम आस्पेक्ट्स ऑफ इण्डियन कल्चर, पृ० ६०; हेनरिच जिमर, आर्ट ऑफ इण्डियन एशिया, खण्ड १, पृ० २०८-०९; खण्ड २, फलक ५४८-५५१।

८. महाभारत, आदिपर्व, १८-३६।

९. श्रीमद्भागवत महापुराण, ८, ८, ६; विष्णु पुराण, १,९, ९५; श्रीविष्णु-धर्मोत्तरम्, ३,८५, ५९।

से निकलकर यह कल्पवृक्ष इन्द्र के नन्दन वन का वृक्ष बन गया।'[१०] जो वस्तुतः इन्द्राणी से सम्बन्धित था। इस आख्यान से यही सूचित होता है कि आर्येतर वृक्ष-पूजा का सम्बन्ध वैदिक इन्द्र के साथ जोड़ दिया गया।[११] इस वृक्ष की छाया मात्र से वृद्ध पुनर्यौवन प्राप्त कर लेते थे। इसी पारिजात अथवा कल्पवृक्ष को कृष्ण अपनी पत्नी सत्यभामा के लिए इन्द्र से बलपूर्वक छीन कर पृथ्वी पर लाये थे।[१२]

लोक की मान्यता के अनुसार कल्पवृक्ष उत्तरकुरु (स्वर्ग) का वृक्ष था अतः साहित्य में कल्पवृक्ष का वर्णन अधिकांशतः उत्तरकुरु प्रदेश के सन्दर्भ में ही प्राप्त होता है। पुराणों में इस प्रदेश की सीमाओं का भी ज्ञान होता है।[१३] **वायुपुराण**[१४] में उल्लेख है कि कल्पवृक्ष कुरु प्रदेश में उत्पन्न होते हैं और इनसे मधु नि सृत होता रहता है। **रामायण**[१५] व **महाभारत**[१६] जैसे महाकाव्यों में तो उत्तरकुरु का अत्यन्त विस्तृत व काव्यात्मक वर्णन हुआ है। उत्तरकुरु सम्पूर्ण सुख व प्रसन्नता का आगार है जिसकी कल्पना वैदिक नाक[१७] एवं बौद्धों की सुखावटी के अत्यन्त निकट लगती है।[१८] विभिन्न संस्कृत काव्य एवं नाटक यथा मेघदूत,[१९] **अभिज्ञानशाकुन्तल**,[२०] मृच्छकटिक[२१],

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१०. सिन्धु एस० डांगे, 'दी लीजेण्ड ऑफ पारिजातहरण'', **जर्नल ऑफ दी यूनिवर्सिटी ऑफ बम्बे**, अक्तूबर १९७०, खण्ड ३९, संख्या ७५, पृ० ६; इग्नोन्स वेरोनिका, **इण्डियन माइथालोजी**, पृ० ४८।

११. वासुदेवशरण अग्रवाल, **प्राचीन भारतीय लोकधर्म**, पृ० ७९।

१२. इग्नोन्स वेरोनिका, उपर्युक्त, पृ० ७०; ई० वाशबर्न हापकिन्स, एपिक-माइथॉलोजी पृ० ७; **पद्मपुराण** में भी कथा मिलती है : उत्तर खण्ड, २७६; **हरिवंश पुराण** के विष्णुपर्व में पारिजातहरण की यह कथा विस्तार से वर्णित है : ६४-७६।

१३. **हरिवंशपुराण** (पण्डित पन्नालाल जैन द्वारा सम्पादित) ५.१६७।

१४. **वायुपुराण**, ५.४०,८.१२८।

१५. **रामायण**, किष्किन्धाकाण्ड, ४३.४४.–५१।

१६. **महाभारत**, भीष्मपर्व, ७.२–९।

१७. ब्राह्मणों में नाक को न+अक अर्थात् दुःखरहित माना गया है, वहाँ जाने वाले दुःख नहीं पाते। **निरुक्त** २.१४; **छान्दोग्यउपनिषद्** २.१०५ **शतपथ ब्राह्मण** ८.४.१.२४।

१८. वासुदेवशरण अग्रवाल, **अलेक्जेण्डर कनिंघम कृत स्तूप ऑफ भरहुत** की भूमिका, पृ० ८।

१९. **मेघदूत**, २.११।

२०. **अभिज्ञानशाकुन्तल**, अंक ४, श्लोक ५।

२१. शूद्रककृत **मृच्छकटिक**, अंक ८, श्लोक २४।

कृष्णाभ्युदयम्[२२] आदि कल्पवृक्षों के पल्लवित वर्णन से भरे पड़े हैं। यहाँ कल्पलताओं की शाखाओं से उत्पन्न होती हुई विभिन्न वस्तुओं का मनोहारी चित्रण है। संस्कृत साहित्य में ही नहीं वरन् बौद्ध व जैन साहित्य में भी कल्पवृक्ष का उल्लेख हुआ है। पालि जातक,[२३] महावणिज जातक,[२४] कथासरित्सागर[२५] आदि में इनके प्रसंग मिलते हैं। जैन साहित्य से दस प्रकार के कल्पवृक्षों का परिज्ञान होता है[२६] : (१) मद्यांग वृक्ष, (२) तूर्यांग वृक्ष, (३) भूषणांग वृक्ष, (४) ज्योतिवृक्ष, (५) गृहवृक्ष, (६) भाजनांग वृक्ष, (७) दीपांग वृक्ष, (८) वस्त्रांग वृक्ष, (९) भोगनांग वृक्ष, (१०) मालांग वृक्ष। ये दस प्रकार के उत्तम सुखों के प्रतीक हैं। वस्तुतः यह कल्पवृक्ष की मूल कल्पना का ही परिविस्तार है।

कालान्तर में कल्पवृक्ष का सम्बन्ध कुबेर की अलका से जुड़ गया। महाभारत[२७] में अलका को कुबेर की नगरी व सरोवर बताया गया है। पुराणों[२८] से भी इसकी पुष्टि होती है। यहाँ इसे कैलाश पर्वत पर स्थित यक्षों की नगरी बताया गया है जो कुबेर की राजधानी थी। कुबेर की इस अलका नगरी में अनेक कल्पवृक्ष हैं जिनसे अलका की यक्ष सुन्दरियों के लिए मधु, लाक्षाराग, वस्त्र और विविध आभूषण उत्पन्न होते हैं। इन्द्र के नन्दन वन के वृक्षों की विशेषता है देवकन्याओं के लिए शृंगार की सब सामग्री उत्पन्न करना। मेघदूत (२.११) में यक्षों की अलकापुरी में होने वाले कल्पवृक्षों का वर्णन कालिदास ने इतने सजीव रूप में किया है कि वह कालान्तर का

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२२. लोकनाथ भट्ट प्रणीत कृष्णाभ्युदयम् (नरेन्द्रनाथ शर्मा द्वारा संपादित जबलपुर, १९६४) पृ० ४५।

२३. दशब्राह्मण जातक, ४९५, दी जातक (वी० फॉसबोयेल द्वारा संपादित) खण्ड ४, पृ० ३६२।

२४. महावणिज जातक ४९३, दी जातक, खण्ड ४, पृ० ३५१–५२।

२५. सोमदेव का कथासरित्सागर (पं० दुर्गाप्रसाद एवं काशीनाथ-पाण्डुरंग परब द्वारा सम्पादित, बम्बई, १९३०), पृ० ५३५।

२६. वसुनन्दि-श्रावकाचार (पं० हीरालाल जैन द्वारा अनूदित एवं सम्पादित, भारतीय ज्ञानपीठ काशी, १९५२) श्लोक २५०-५७; हरिवंशपुराण, सर्ग ७,८०-९१; विमल सूरि का पउमचरिय, ३.३.७।

२७. एस० शौरेन सेन, (S. Sorensen) एन इन्डेक्स टु दी नेम्स इन दी महाभारत, १९०४, पृ० २९ वी० फासबोयेल, इण्डियन माइथॉलोजी एकार्डिंग टु द महाभारत इन आउटलाइन पृ० १८५-८६।

२८. ब्रह्मपुराण, २.१८.२, ३.७.१६३, वायु पुराण ४७, भागवत पुराण, ४.६.२३।

होते हुए भी इन अभिप्रायों का उल्लेख करता-सा लगता है। गोलोवब्यू (M. golovbew) महोदय के अनुसार अजन्ता की गुहा संख्या एक की पूरी छत को कुबेर के स्वर्ग का चित्रण माना जाना चाहिए।[२९]

कल्पवृक्ष का चित्रण कला में भी उतना ही मनोहारी है जितना साहित्य अथवा आख्यानों में। साहित्यिक वर्णन का अक्षरशः पालन शिल्प में हुआ है मानो साहित्य के उन्हीं वर्णनों को शतशः कला में उतार दिया गया हो। प्राचीन भारतीय कला के अन्तर्गत इसका आकल्पन कल्पवृक्ष तथा कल्पलता इन दो रूपों में हुआ है। कल्पलता अथवा कल्पवल्लरी कल्पवृक्ष का ही रूपान्तर है जो वास्तुशिल्प की दृष्टि से अधिक उपयुक्त है। अधिकांशतः यह कल्पलता अधोगामी रूप से सम्पूर्ण उष्णीष पट्ट पर अंकित है अथवा ऊर्ध्वगामी लता वक्राकार रूप में स्तम्भों पर उत्कीर्ण है।

यहाँ यह तथ्य उल्लेखनीय है कि आखेट अवस्था में आदिम मानव ने अपने चित्रों में मानव एवं पशु आकृतियों को ही चित्रित किया है, परन्तु यह भी आश्चर्य-जनक रूप से सत्य है कि सुसंस्कृत मानव की कला में वनस्पति जगत् के चित्रण को ही प्रमुखता मिली है।[३०] सम्भवतः इसके मूल में कलाकार के वातावरण से प्रभावित होने की बात रही होगी। चित्रों के सर्जना की प्रारम्भिक अवस्था में प्रागैतिहासिक मानव आखेट पर ही निर्भर था अतः उसके चित्रों में उससे सम्बन्धित रूपाकृतियों का मिलना स्वाभाविक ही है। शनैः-शनैः मानव विकास के सोपान पार करता गया और कृषि को अपनाने के बाद से चित्रों में वृक्ष एवं वनस्पति जगत् के अभिप्रायों को स्थान मिलने लगा। यह तथ्य महत्त्वपूर्ण है कि संकालिया महोदय कल्पवृक्ष का उल्लेख ऐतिहासिक चित्रकला के अन्तर्गत करते हैं; इसका काल वह आहत सिक्कों के थोड़ा बाद का मानते हैं और इसे ब्राह्मी लिपि के शब्दों से सम्बद्ध करते हैं।[३१]

प्राचीन भारतीय तक्षण कला के अन्तर्गत कल्पवृक्ष एवं कल्पलताओं का सर्व-प्रथम आकल्पन शुंग काल में भरहुत व साँची के स्तूपों पर हुआ। शुंगकाल में कल्प-वृक्ष, कल्पलताओं व उनसे सम्बन्धित उत्तरकुरु के मनमोहक चित्रण के अतिरिक्त अन्य बहुत से नूतन अभिप्रायों का भी श्रीगणेश हुआ। यहाँ यह प्रश्न उठना स्वा-भाविक है कि कल्पवृक्ष व कल्पलताओं का प्रारम्भ भरहुत—साँची की ही कला में

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२९. आनन्द के०, कुमारस्वामी, यक्षाज, भाग १, पृ० ६ से उद्धृत; चित्र हेतु इनसाइक्लोपीडिया ऑफ वर्ल्ड आर्ट, खण्ड ६ का फलक ४५६ द्रष्टव्य।

३०. अरनेस्ट ग्रासे, जी० वी० प्लेखनोव, आर्ट एण्ड सोशल लाइफ से उद्धृत, पृ० ४५-४६।

३१. एच० डी० संकालिनी या प्री-हिस्टारिक आर्ट इन इण्डिया, पृ० ९१।

क्यों हुआ जबकि साहित्य में इनका वर्णन **रामायण एवं महाभारत** के काल से ही चला आ रहा है। इसे जानने के लिए पृष्ठभूमि को पलटना आवश्यक प्रतीत होता है। मौर्य काल के पहले कला साधारणतः काष्ठकर्म, हाथीदाँत के काम, धूप में सिकी ईंटों, मृण्मूर्तियों एवं धातु व खनिज पत्थर से वनी मूर्तियों तक ही सीमित रही जिनमें से अधिकांश समय के साथ विनष्ट हो गईं। पाषाण का सर्वप्रथम प्रचुरता से प्रयोग मौर्यकाल में हुआ [३२] परन्तु इस काल में राजकीय कला को ही अधिक प्रोत्साहन मिला, लोककला को अपेक्षित प्रेरणा नहीं मिल सकी। विदेशी प्रभाव मौर्यकाल में इतना गहरा था कि इस काल में वनी मृण्मूर्तियों तक पर स्पष्ट रूप से देखा जा सकता है। ये मूर्तियाँ सामन्तों एवं कुलीन वर्गों द्वारा अपने विशालकाय भवनों एवं महलों को सुसज्जित करने हेतु सम्भवतः राजकीय कुम्भकारों द्वारा बनवायी जाती थीं।[३३] इसके अतिरिक्त पशु आदि आकृतियों का उपयोग साधारणत. बच्चों द्वारा खिलौनों के रूप में होता था अथवा ये मृण्मूर्तियाँ धार्मिक उद्देश्य से प्रेरित थीं[३४] और कल्पवृक्ष एक लोकप्रिय अभिप्राय था जिनका किसी धर्म-विशेष से सम्बन्ध न था। शुंगकाल तक आते-आते राजनैतिक, प्रशासनिक, सामाजिक व धार्मिक सभी परिस्थितियों में क्रान्तिकारी परिवर्तन आया जिसके फलस्वरूप कला के क्षेत्र में भी क्रान्तिकारी परिवर्तन स्पष्ट रूप से दिखाई पड़ता है। नीहाररंजन राय के अनुसार मौर्यकालीन कला का अनुगमन करनेवाली प्रारम्भिक परवर्ती मौर्यकला, जो विषय एवं मूर्तिविज्ञान की दृष्टि से बौद्ध है, मौर्यकालीन कला की अपेक्षा वहुसंख्यक लोगों के मस्तिष्क, परम्परा एवं सांस्कृतिक विचारधारा को दर्शाती है।[३५] वस्तुतः भरहुत—बोधगया से अमरावती—नागा-

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३२. नीहाररंजन राय के अनुसार यह अनुमान लगाना असम्भव नहीं है कि इसी प्रकार का विशाल एवं विपुल काम लकड़ी एवं मिट्टी के माध्यम से प्राक्-मौर्यकाल में प्रचलित रहा हो और मौर्य राजाओं ने केवल शिल्पी एवं शिल्पियों के संघों को अपनी पारम्परिक दक्षता एक नयी धातु-पाषाण में प्रारम्भ करने की प्रेरणा दी हो : **मौर्य एण्ड पोस्ट-मौर्य आर्ट**, पृ० ४-५।

३३. देवांगना देसाई, सोशल वैकग्राउण्ड ऑफ एन्शियन्ट इण्डियन टैराकोटाज', **हिस्ट्री एण्ड सोसायटी** (देवीप्रसाद चट्टोपाध्याय द्वारा सम्पादित, १९७८), पृ० १४९।

३४ मौर्यकाल में निरपेक्ष एवं कलात्मक मृण्मूर्तियाँ केवल मगध तक ही सीमित थीं; इसकी सीमा से बाहर भद्दी मूर्तियों का निर्माण प्रायः धार्मिक अनुष्ठान हेतु ही होता था : देसाई, उपर्युक्त, पृ० १५२-५३; विभिन्न स्थानों से मातृदेवी की अनेक मौर्यकालीन मृण्मूर्तियाँ मिली हैं : वही, पृ० १५०-५१, चित्र ७-१०।

३५. राय, उपर्युक्त, पृ० ५४-५५।

र्जुनकोण्ड तक की वर्णनात्मक उत्कीर्ण कला पूर्ववर्ती दृष्टि, कल्पना, अवधारणा, अलंकरण, तकनीक दक्षता एवं विशिष्टता का निषेध है।[३६] वे दोनों उद्देश्य और दिशा, रूप, तकनीक एवं महत्व सभी दृष्टियों से परस्पर भिन्न हैं।[३७] शुंगकाल में भारत की प्राचीन लोक परम्परा की भावना का पुनरुत्थान हुआ है।[३८] भरहुत, साँची एवं बोधगया की कला में भगवान्, बुद्ध के जीवन की घटनाओं तथा जातक कथाओं के चित्रण के साथ ही साथ लोक जीवन की विशेषताओं—यक्ष-यक्षिणी, वृक्ष देवता एवं वृक्षिणी, अप्सरा, किन्नर, नाग, देवता और कल्पवृक्षों व कल्पलताओं की अभिव्यक्ति वहुलता से हुई है। मुल्कराज आनन्द इसके कारणों की व्याख्या करते हुए बताते हैं कि बौद्धों एवं हिन्दुओं द्वारा नियुक्त शिल्पियों की साधारण श्रेणियों द्वारा शुंग कला के अभिप्राय, तकनीकी एवं धार्मिक अभिव्यक्ति में परस्पर अन्तर्मिश्रण हुआ है।[३९] नीहाररंजन राय भी इस तथ्य की पुष्टि करते हुए कहते हैं कि मौर्योत्तर-कालीन कला उस चरण को प्रतिबिम्बित करती है जिसमें स्पष्ट कारणों से विशेषतः धनी एवं व्यावसायिक मध्यवर्गों और अंशतः मध्य प्रदेश के धनी व्यापारिक वर्गों व कुलीनों द्वारा संरक्षित बौद्ध धर्म ने लोक-कला और क्षेत्रीय कला को मान्यता प्रदान की।[४०] इसके अतिरिक्त बौद्ध साहित्य एवं कला स्वयं इस बात की पुष्टि करते हैं कि बौद्ध धर्म के प्रचार व प्रसार हेतु इसमें उन सभी तत्वों का समावेश किया गया जिनसे जन-साधारण सरलता से इसके प्रति आकृष्ट हो। अतः साधारण जन की आकांक्षाओं के प्रतीक के रूप में प्राचीन लोकप्रिय एवं पौराणिक परम्पराओं के प्रचलन के साथ-साथ कल्पवृक्ष व कल्पलताओं का निर्वाह तात्कालिक परिवेश की आवश्यकताओं के अनुरूप शुंग कलाकृतियों में प्रचुरता के साथ हुआ है।[४१] भरहुत स्तूप के अलंकरण की सर्वाधिक विशेषता कल्पताओं का अंकन है जिनकी ऊँची-नीची लहरदार क्ति से पंविविध प्रकार के वस्त्र एवं आभरण उत्पन्न होते दिखाये गये हैं।

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३६. वही, पृ० ६।

३७. वही, पृ० ५४-५५।

३८. नीहाररंजन राय, मौर्य एण्ड शुंग आर्ट, पृ० ६५ एवं आगे

३९. मुल्कराज आनन्द, "द कान्टीनुइटी ऑफ मिथ्स, सिम्बल्स एण्ड इमेजेज" मार्ग, खण्ड ३२, संख्या १, पृ० ६।

४०. राय, वही, पृ० ७१-७२।

४१. यह उल्लेखनीय है कि जीवन और सौभाग्य का यह वृक्ष बुद्ध से युगों पहले अस्तित्व में था और यक्ष-यक्षी, नाग एवं अन्य बहुत से लोक-धर्म से अपना लिये गये तत्वों की ही भाँति बौद्ध धर्म में समाहित होने की प्रक्रिया से गुजर रहा था: सर जान मार्शल एवं अल्फ्रेड फूशे, द मॉन्यूमेन्ट्स ऑफ साँची (एन० जी० मजूमदार द्वारा अनूदित एवं सम्पादित), खण्ड १, पृ० १४५।

भरहुत स्तूप की वेदिका के उष्णीष के पृष्ठ भाग पर कल्पवल्लरी का चित्रण है।[४२] यहाँ इसकी बल खाती हुई टहनियों से कर्णकुण्डल, हार, कण्ठ, बाहुवलय, करधनी, नूपुर आदि भाँति-भाँति के आभूषण लटकते हुए दिखाये गये हैं (चित्र १)।[४३] बीच-बीच में मूल्यवान् उत्तरीय व अधोवस्त्र भी उसी प्रकार लता की मोड़-मुड़क से निकल रहे हैं (चित्र २)। कहीं मदिरा से भरे पनसफल[४४] और कहीं लाक्षाराग से भरे आम्रफल[४५] की आकृति के पात्र हैं। सम्भवतः कटहल या आम इन्हीं दो फलों का चित्रण इसलिए किया गया है कि पके हुए कटहल में मदिरा की-सी गन्ध रहती है और आम्ररस लाक्षाराग के सदृश होता है। वस्तुतः यह उत्तर कुरु की कल्पलताओं का ही चित्रण है। इस प्रकार की वरदायक कल्पलताओं का वर्णन उत्तर कुरु के ही सन्दर्भ में आता है। महावणिजजातक के वर्णन व भरहुत के अंकन में इतना अधिक सामंजस्य है कि लगता है कि शिल्पियों ने उस वर्णन को अपने सामने रख कर ही भरहुत स्तूप पर कल्पलताओं को उकेरा हो। महावणिज जातक का वर्णन इस प्रकार है कि कुछ व्यापारी यात्रा करते हुए उस प्रदेश में पहुंच गये और वहाँ उन्होंने एक बड़ा न्यग्रोध का वृक्ष देखा। उसकी वरदायक पूर्वी शाखा से सब प्रकार के पेय पदार्थ निकल रहे थे जिसे पीकर उन्होंने अपने आपको तृप्त किया। दक्षिणी शाखा से अनेक प्रकार के भोज्य पदार्थ एवं व्यंजन प्रस्रवित हो रहे थे। पश्चिमी शाखा से सुन्दर स्त्रियों, विविध प्रकार के वस्त्र व आभरण प्रत्येक व्यापारी ने प्राप्त किये। उत्तरी शाखा से सुवर्ण-रजत आभूषण, वाराणसी के सूक्ष्म वस्त्र और प्रावार उत्पन्न हो रहे थे जिन्हें व्यापारियों ने इच्छानुसार प्राप्त किया।[४६]

भरहुत स्तूप पर उत्कीर्ण उत्तरकुरु सम्बन्धी दृश्यों के अन्तर्गत कल्पद्रुम व कल्पवल्लरी अभिप्राय को साँची के शिल्पियों ने अपने अथक परिश्रम से और अधिक

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४२. बेनी माधव बरुआ, भरहुत खण्ड ३, फलक १२ चित्र ९, ९-ए; फलक १३ चित्र ९ बी, ९ सी; फलक १४ चित्र १०-ए, १०; अलेक्जेण्डर, कनिंघम, स्तूप ऑफ भरहुत, फलक ३९ का नीचे का दृश्य; फलक ४० ए बी १,२,३,४, ५; फलक ४१-४८।

४३. बरुआ, उपर्युक्त, खण्ड ३, फलक २४ चित्र २४ एफ०, २४-जी; फलक २५ चित्र२४-एच, २४ एच,२४ एच, २४ आई, २४ आई, २४जे, २४ जे, २४ एफ जी जे, २४ जी एच जे; कनिंघम उपर्युक्त, फलक ३९-५०; सतीशचन्द्र काला, भरहुत वेदिका, फलक ७।

४४. बरुआ, उपर्युक्त, खण्ड ३, फलक २४ चित्र २४ सी, २४ सी एवं २४ डी।

४५. वही, फलक २४ चित्र २४ ए, २४ बी एवं २४ बी।

४६. महावणिज जातक, ४९३; दी जातक, खण्ड ४, पृ० ३५१-५२।

विस्तार दिया है। साँची शिल्प में इसका अंकन भरहुत की परम्पराओं को निभाते हुए कुछ रूपान्तर के साथ नवीन व विविध रूपों में स्तूप की वेदिका, स्तम्भों व तोरण द्वारों आदि पर बहुलता से हुआ है। दक्षिणी तोरण द्वार के पश्चिमी स्तम्भ के पश्चिमी पृष्ठ पर लहरदार कल्पलता उठती हुई लतर के रूप में अंकित है जो सम्भवतः कुम्भाण्ड की नाभि से निःसृत हो रही है।[४७] भरहुत में यह साधारणतः हाथी के मुख से निकलती हुई दिखायी गयी है।[४८] साँची में यह मकर-मुख से उद्भूत होती हुई अंकित है।[४९] परन्तु बाव के दो दृश्यों में कल्पलता यक्षों की नाभि से उत्पन्न हो रही है।[५०] यक्ष द्वारा वृक्ष के उद्भूत होने की कल्पना अत्यन्त प्राचीन है और इसे वैदिक युग तक ले जाया जा सकता है परन्तु यह कल्पना मध्ययुग में अधिक लोकप्रिय हुई जब नारायण की नाभि से उत्पन्न कमलदल पर ब्रह्मा विराजमान हुए।[५१] दक्षिणी तोरण पर आकल्पित इस कल्पलता की लहरदार शाखाओं से स्वादिष्ट फल, सुन्दर पुष्प, मालाएँ, हार एवं गुलबन्द आदि उत्पन्न हो रहे हैं जबकि इसकी सघन पत्र-लताओं के बीच से स्त्री-पुरुषों के तीन मिथुन, तोते व अन्य प्रकार के पक्षी, सिंह, रत्नजटित आभूषण आदि जन्म ले रहे हैं। लता के निचले भाग में मिथुन वन में बैठे हैं। उनके चारों ओर मनोहर पुष्प, स्वादिष्ट फल एवं दो सिंह आकल्पित हैं। पुरुष वीणा बजा रहा है। स्त्री के पैरों के पास दो नूपुर रखे हैं और वह अपने हाथों में मांगलिक चिन्हों से बना हुआ एक कठुला (हार) लिये हुए है (चित्र ३)।[५२] ऐसा हार अशुभ-निवारण का सूचक था और विशेषतः उत्तरकुरु का प्रतीक समझा जाता था। उत्तरकुरु के इन दृश्यों में कल्पवृक्ष के नीचे स्थित मिथुन संगीत और वाद्य का आनन्द ले रहे हैं।[५३] ठीक ऐसा ही दृश्य भाजा में भी है जहाँ

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४७. मार्शल एवं फूशे, **मॉन्यूमेन्ट्स ऑफ साँची**, खण्ड २, फलक १९ ए और बी।

४८. कनिंघम, **स्तूप ऑफ़ भरहुत**, फलक ३९ चित्र २।

४९. मार्शल एवं फूशे, उपर्युक्त खण्ड ३, फलक ७५, स्तम्भ ५ बी; फलक ८७, स्तम्भ ७१ बी।

५०. वही, खण्ड ३, फलक ७८, स्तम्भ २२ ए, २३ ए; फलक ८३ फलक ४९ बी।

५१. ऋग्वेद १०, ८२, ५; अथर्ववेद १०, ७, ३८; महाभारत ३, २७२, ४४; १२, २०७, १३ आदि उद्धृत करके कुमारस्वामी इस परम्परा को वैदिक युग तक ले जाते हैं: 'द ट्री ऑफ जैसे एण्ड इण्डियन पैरेलेलो ऑर सोर्सेज', **आर्ट बुलेटिन**, खण्ड ११, संख्या २, पृ० २-३।

५२. मार्शल एवं फूशे, उपर्युक्त, खण्ड १, पृ० १४४ की टिप्पणी १।

५३. मिथुन मूर्तियों का अंकन परवर्ती कला में अधिक लोकप्रिय हुआ परन्तु उनका प्रारम्भ यहाँ से माना जा सकता है।

कल्पवृक्ष के नीचे बैठे मिथुन नृत्य देखने में निमग्न हैं।[५४] इन्हीं दृश्यों को शुंग काल में मिट्टी के टिकरों पर भी ढाला गया। ये मथुरा राजघाट और पटना से मिले हैं।[५५] वायुपुराण[५६] के भुवन कोष प्रकरण में भी उत्तरकुरु का कुछ इसी प्रकार का वर्णन मिलता है जहाँ शतसहस्र संख्यक कल्पवृक्षों से अनेक प्रकार के वाद्य, पर्यंक, आसन, खाद्य-पदार्थ, प्रसाधन सामग्री आदि अन्य अनेक आनन्द की वस्तुओं से युक्त निकुंजों आदि का जन्म हो रहा है, और जहाँ वीणा, बाँसुरी एवं मृदंग से लेकर सभी प्रकार का संगीत सुनाई पड़ता है।

उत्तरी तोरण द्वार के पश्चिमी स्तम्भ के पश्चिमी मुखभाग के मध्य की गोट में अंकित लता का प्रमुख तना एक भद्र घट से निःसृत होता हुआ दिखाया गया है।[५७] इसके तने के निकट पत्रदलों के झुरमुट से यक्ष व यक्षिणियों के मिथुन प्रसवित हो रहे हैं। यह स्तूप संख्या २ की वेदिका पर उत्कीर्ण चित्रण के समान है।[५८] परन्तु यहाँ स्त्री व पुरुष एक के बाद एक के क्रम में हैं। सदा यौवन का उपभोग करनेवाले स्त्री-पुरुषों के मिथुन कल्पवृक्ष से ही जन्म लेते हैं। महाभारत[५९] में भी स्त्री-पुरुषों के मिथुन फल के समान वृक्षों से ऐसे ही उत्पन्न होते हुए वर्णित हैं जैसे साँची की इस कल्पलता से। कल्पवृक्ष का यह स्वरूप बौद्ध, जैन और भागवत सबको समान रूप से स्वीकृत था। आगे चलकर गुहाओं और मन्दिरों के द्वार-स्तम्भों पर मिथुन मूर्तियों का निर्माण होने लगा। सम्भवतः यह परम्परा कल्पवृक्ष से उत्पन्न होने वाले मिथुन युगल से ही ग्रहण की गयी। चन्द्रकेतुगढ़[६०] एवं अहिच्छत्र[६१] से कुछ मिट्टी के फलक मिले हैं जिन पर मिथुन सम्भोग की विभिन्न अवस्थाओं में अंकित हैं। वासुदेवशरण अग्रवाल के मतानुसार इसकी शिरोभूषा व कण्ठ में विद्यमान पवित्र प्रतीक और एक उदाहरण में लक्षित नग्नता के कारण इन्हें उर्वरता से सम्बद्ध

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५४. कुमारस्वामी, हिस्ट्री ऑफ इण्डियन एण्ड इण्डोनेशियन आर्ट, फलक ८, चित्र २७।

५५. वासुदेवशरण अग्रवाल, भारतीय कला, पृ० ११८।

५६. वायुपुराण, भुवन कोश, ४५, ११-५०।

५७. मार्शल एवं फूशे, उपर्युक्त खण्ड २, फलक ३७ बी।

५८. वही, खण्ड ३, स्तम्भ २३ सी, ४९ ए, ६६ ए, ७१ ए।

५९. महाभारत, भीष्मपर्व ७, ८।

६०. परेशचन्द्र दासगुप्ता, "अर्ली टेराकोटाज फ्राम चन्द्रकेतुगढ़," ललितकला, सं० ६, अक्तूबर, १९५९, पृ० ५० फलक १४ चित्र ११।

६१. वासुदेवशरण अग्रवाल, "टेरोकोटा फिगरिन्स ऑफ अहिच्छत्र, डिस्ट्रिक्ट बरेली" एन्शियेन्ट इण्डिया, सं० ४, जुलाई १९४७ जनवरी, १९४८, फलक ३१ बी, चित्र ११-१८ ए; फलक ३२ चित्र १२-१४; फलक ३३ ए चित्र १९-२२।



चित्र १ कल्पवृक्ष



चित्र ४ कल्पवृक्ष



चित्र ५ कल्पवृक्ष



चित्र २ कल्पवृक्ष

(१७८-१०९)

किया जा सकता है।[६२] परन्तु मार्शल उनके मत से सहमत नहीं हैं। उनके विचार में कल्पलताओं से उत्पन्न होते हुए ये मिथुन वृक्षात्माओं के ही वंशज थे जिनका प्रारम्भिक चित्रण सिन्धुघाटी की मुहर पर हुआ है।[६३]

भरहुत व साँची में आकल्पित इन कल्पलताओं के अतिरिक्त एक अन्य प्रकार का चित्रण भी भरहुत व बोधगया से प्राप्त होता है। यहाँ पीपल की भाँति के वृक्ष के पीछे से निकलते हुए केवल दो हाथ दृष्टिगोचर हो रहे हैं जिनमें से एक हाथ में थाली अथवा कटोरी के आकार का पात्र है जिसमें चपाती अथवा कोई भोज्य पदार्थ है और दूसरे हाथ में जल अथवा मदिरा से भरा चायदानी के आकार का पात्र है।[६४] बोधगया वाले चित्रण में तो इसे एक व्यक्ति अपने दाहिने हाथ से ग्रहण करता हुआ भी प्रदर्शित है (चित्र ४)।[६५] मानवाकृति व वृक्ष के बीच एक मोढ़ा एवं सामने की ओर एक मेज है जो उस भोजन ग्रहण वाले व्यक्ति के उपयोग के लिए है (चित्र ५)। वस्तुतः यह वनदेवता अथवा वृक्षात्मा का अंकन है जो दूरगामी पथिकों तथा उनकी छाया में बैठने वाले अतिथियों को भोज्य पदार्थ एवं पेय प्रदान कर रहे हैं। ये ऐसे अदृश्य देव हैं जो वन में निवास करते हैं और स्वयं दृष्टिगत न होने पर भी संसार में होने वाली प्रत्येक गतिविधि से अवगत रहते हैं। ठीक इसी प्रकार के वनदेवताओं का वर्णन मृच्छकटिक[६७] व अभिज्ञानशाकुन्तल[६८] में भी मिलता है। शिवराममूर्ति,[६९] कनिंघम,[७०] रन्धावा[७१] आदि विद्वानों ने इनका उल्लेख किया है और इन्हें वनदेवता ही

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६२. वही, पृ० १०९।

६३. मार्शल एवं फूशे, उपर्युक्त, खण्ड १, पृ० १४४।

६४. कनिंघम, स्तूप ऑफ भरहुत, फलक ४८, चित्र ११।

६५. कनिंघम, महाबोधि ऑर दि ग्रेट बुद्धिस्ट टेम्पुल, फलक ८, चित्र ४।

६६. मार्शल के अनुसार वृक्ष देवताओं का चित्रण सिन्धु घाटी सभ्यता के समय से चला आ रहा है; मॉन्यूमेन्ट्स ऑफ साँची, खण्ड १, पृ० १४३; चित्रहेतु द्रष्टव्य मार्शलकृत मोहनजोदड़ो एण्ड द इण्डस सिविलाइजेशन, खण्ड ३, फलक ११२, चित्र ३८७।

६७. मृच्छकटिक, अंक ८, श्लोक २४।

६८. अभिज्ञानशाकुन्तल, अंक ४, श्लोक ५।

६९. शिवराममूर्ति, 'कल्पवृक्ष-कल्पवल्ली', द जरनल ऑफ ओरियण्टल रिसर्च मद्रास, खण्ड १४, भाग ३, जुलाई-सितम्बर, १९४०, पृ० १८०।

७०. कनिंघम, स्तूप ऑफ भरहुत, पृ० ९८।

७१. एम० एस० रन्धावा, द कल्ट ऑफ ट्रीज एण्ड ट्री-वर्शिप इन बुद्धिस्ट हिन्दू स्कल्पचर, पृ० २४।

माना है। वनदेवता अभिप्राय व कल्पवृक्ष का अभेद्य सम्बन्ध है। कुमारसम्भव[७२] में कालिदास ने भी इन दोनों का उल्लेख एक साथ किया है। जिस प्रकार कल्पलता की शाखाओं से निःसृत होते भोज्य पदार्थ, पेय, वस्त्राभरण पथिकों को तृप्त करने में पर्याप्त हैं उसी प्रकार वनदेवता भी उस राह से निकलने वाले पथिकों एवं छाया में बैठने वाले अतिथियों को खाद्य पदार्थ व पेय प्रस्तुत करने में सक्षम हैं। अतः इन वनदेवताओं का सम्बन्ध कल्पवृक्ष के साथ स्थापित करना उचित प्रतीत होता है। परन्तु बरुआ महोदय इस मत से सहमत नहीं हैं। वे इस दृश्य के अभिलेख को ध्यान में रखते हुए इसे 'शाम्बूल जातक' अथवा 'वेस्सन्तर जातक' का चित्रण मानते हैं।[७३]

कल्पवृक्ष का सबसे भव्य चित्रण जो लोकधर्म की मान्यता के अनुसार पूरा उतरता है, कनिंघम ने बेसनगर (प्राचीन विदिशा) से प्राप्त किया था।[७४] यह भी शुंगकालीन है।[७५] यह सम्प्रति भारतीय संग्रहालय, कलकत्ता में संगृहीत है। इसमें नीचे एक चौकोर कटहरा है, उसके ऊपर एक गोल थामला है। उस थामले से एक विशाल वटवृक्ष अपनी अनेक शाखाओं-प्रशाखाओं के वितान सहित निकल रहा है। वृक्ष की शाखाओं से चार बड़े थैले जिनके मुंह बँधे हुए हैं और जिनमें संभवतः रत्न व मणियाँ भरी हुई हैं, झूल रहे हैं। इनके मध्य चाँदी की कार्षापण मुद्राओं से ऊपर तक भरे दो घट हैं। वृक्ष की दूसरी ओर शंख व पूर्ण प्रफुल्लित पद्म हैं जिनसे मुद्राएँ उद्गत हो रही हैं (चित्र ६)। शिवराममूर्ति,[७६] वासुदेवशरण अग्रवाल[७७] एवं रन्धावा[७८] आदि विद्वान् इसे कल्पवृक्ष का चित्रण मानते हैं परन्तु कुमारस्वामी इसे बरगद का वृक्ष मानते हैं और शंख व पद्म को कुबेर की शंख व पद्मनिधि स्वीकार करते हैं जिनकी गणना नव-निधियों में की जाती है।[७९] बैनर्जी महोदय भी इसे वटवृक्ष ही मानते हैं और दूसरी निःसृत होने वाली आठ वस्तुओं की गणना करके इन्हें

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७२. कुमारसम्भव, सर्ग ८, श्लोक ७५।

७३. बरुआ, भरहुत, खण्ड २, पृ० १६२-६३।

७४. कनिंघम, आर्क्योलाजिकल सर्वे रिपोर्ट, खण्ड १०, पृ० ४३ फलक १५।

७५. इसकी तिथि विवादास्पद है; जितेन्द्रनाथ बैनर्जी इसे तृतीय शताब्दी ईसापूर्व का मानते हैं; डेवेलपमेन्ट ऑफ हिन्दू आइकनोग्राफी, पृ० १०४; एम० एस० रन्धावा भी इसे तृतीय शताब्दी ई० पू० का ही मानते हैं; वही पृ० १० परन्तु कुमार—स्वामी इसे द्वितीय शताब्दी ई० पू० का मानते हैं; यक्षाज, भाग २, पृ० ७२।

७६. शिवराममूर्ति, उपर्युक्त, पृ० १८१।

७७. वासुदेवशरण अग्रवाल, प्राचीन भारतीय लोक धर्म, पृ० ८०-८१।

७८. रन्धावा, उपर्युक्त, पृ० १०।

७९. कुमारस्वामी, यक्षाज, भाग २, पृ० ७२।

अष्टनिधियों का प्रतीक बताते हैं जो पहले श्री लक्ष्मी से सम्बन्धित थीं और बाद में कुबेर से सम्बद्ध हो गयीं।[८०]

कल्पवृक्ष व उससे सम्बन्धित मिथुन अभिप्राय का अंकन केवल उत्तरी भारत तक ही सीमित नहीं रहा अपितु इसे पूर्वी और पश्चिमी भारत की गुहाओं में भी स्थान मिला। रानी गुम्फा व भाजा की गुफाओं में भी उत्तरकुरु के दृश्य, कल्पलताएँ व उनसे जन्म लेते हुए मिथुन आदि आकल्पित हैं। रानी गुम्फा[८१] के ये मिथुन साँची में अंकित मिथुनों के ही समान हैं जहाँ ये उत्तरकुरु सम्बन्धित दृश्यों में कल्पलताओं की वक्राकार पंक्ति से जन्म लेते हुए उत्कीर्ण किये गये हैं। उत्तरकुरु के दृश्यों में जो आपान गोष्ठी के दृश्य पाये जाते हैं और जैन साहित्य[८२] में मद्यांग कल्पवृक्ष के नाम से जिनका उल्लेख हैं, भरहुत की ही भाँति यहाँ भी दृष्टिगत होते हैं। इन्हीं आपान-गोष्ठी के दृश्यों में पनसफल की आकृति के पात्र भी आकल्पित हैं जो मद्य रखने के काम आते थे।[८३]

कल्पवृक्ष को वेदिका से वेष्टित करने की प्राचीन वैदिक परम्परा परवर्ती स्तूपों की वेदिकाओं में भी प्राप्त होती है।[८४] मथुरा की पद्मवर-वेदिका की सूचियों पर भी अनेक फुल्ले हैं जिनमें बहुत से मांगलिक चिह्न दिखाये गये हैं—वेष्टिनीयुक्त कल्पवृक्ष उनमें प्रमुख है।[८५] कुछ प्राचीन सिक्कों पर भी इसी प्रकार के वेष्टिनीयुक्त कल्पवृक्षों का अंकन हुआ है।[८६]

गन्धार कला में भी, जहाँ विशुद्ध भारतीय अभिप्राय अंकित हैं, कल्पलता के एकाध उदाहरण उपलब्ध हो जाते हैं। वंक्षु के उत्तरी तट पर स्थित तेरमेज यूनानी बौद्ध कला का महत्त्वपूर्ण केन्द्र था। यहाँ से प्राप्य शोमार्थ शिलापट्टों पर भारतीय अलंकरणों को विविधता से चित्रित किया गया है। इनमें से एक शिलापट्ट पर एक

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८०. जितेन्द्रनाथ बैनर्जी, डेवलपमेन्ट ऑफ हिन्दू आइकनोग्राफी, पृ० १०५ की टिप्पणी १।

८१. जेम्स फर्गूसन एवं जेम्स बर्जेस, केव टेम्पुल ऑफ इण्डिया, पृ० ८३-८४; राजेन्द्रलाल मित्र, एन्टीक्विटीज ऑफ उड़ीसा भाग १, पृ० ९-८, भाग २, फलक ११।

८२. वसुनन्दि श्रावकाचार (पण्डित हीरालाल जैन द्वारा सम्पादित, भारतीय ज्ञानपीठ, काशी) श्लोक-२५२।

८३. वासुदेवशरण अग्रवाल, भारतीय कला, पृ० २२५, चित्र २५५।

८४. कृष्णादत्त बाजपेयी, भारतीय वास्तुकला का इतिहास, पृ० ४२।

८५. अग्रवाल, उपर्युक्त, पृ० २६८।

८६. इन सिक्कों का उल्लेख आगे हुआ है।

लता आकल्पित है जिसके उतार-चढ़ाव में कामदेव के परिवार के नर-नारी अथवा मिथुन अंकित हैं।[८७] यह कल्पलता का ही विकसित रूप है। आगे चलकर यही अभिप्राय गुप्तकालीन मन्दिरों के द्वार-स्तम्भों पर बहुलता से पाया जाता है।

गुप्तकालीन शिल्पियों को गन्धार की ही भाँति कल्पलता का नारी लता वाला रूप अधिक प्रिय रहा है। गुप्तकाल में बने अत्यन्त कलात्मक व उच्चकोटि के मन्दिरों के द्वार-स्तम्भों पर इन्हीं नारी-लताओं[८८] का आकल्पन किया गया है। इलाहाबाद जिले में स्थित गढ़वा के मन्दिर के द्वार-स्तम्भ पर उत्कीर्ण कल्पलता अत्यन्त उत्कृष्ट-कोटि की है।[८९] इस लालित्यपूर्ण कमल लता के प्रतान से रूपसी नारी आकृतियाँ उद्भूत होती हुई द्रष्टव्य हैं (चित्र ७)। इसे ही नारीलता अथवा कामलता कहा गया है जो कल्पलता का ही रूपान्तर है। यही जातकों में उल्लिखित नारिदा शाखा है।[९०] कल्पलता की शाखाओं-प्रशाखाओं से उत्पन्न होती हुई इस प्रकार की रूपवती स्त्रियों का वर्णन साहित्य में प्रचुरता से हुआ है।[९१] रामायण में तो ये दिव्य देवांगनाएँ कुबेर के वन में वृक्षों से फल की भाँति प्रस्रवित होती हुई वर्णित हैं।[९२] कल्पलता के साथ ही गुप्तकालीन मन्दिरों पर पत्रलता अभिप्राय भी बहुत लोकप्रिय था।[९३] साहित्य में इसके लिए पत्रलता, पत्रांगुलि, पत्रभंगरचना, अनेक भंगकुटिल-पत्रावली आदि नाम उल्लिखित हैं।[९४] परन्तु यहाँ यह स्पष्ट कर देना उचित प्रतीत होता है कि कल्पलता व पत्रलता दोनों भिन्न अभिप्राय हैं—एक नहीं, जैसा कि चक्रवर्ती महोदय ने

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८७. अग्रवाल, उपर्युक्त, पृ० ३३३।

८८. कुमारस्वामी भी अपने लेख 'द ट्री आफ जैसे एण्ड इण्डियन पेरलेलो ऑर सोर्सेज' में नारी लता का उल्लेख करते हैं: आर्ट बुलेटिन, खण्ड ११, संख्या २, पृ० ३।

८९. कनिंघम, आर्क्यालॉजिकल सर्वे ऑफ इण्डिया रिपोर्ट, खण्ड १०, फलक ६ ए, बी, सी, डी, ई, एफ; कनिंघम के विचार में यह पूरा अलंकरण बहुत सूक्ष्मता व स्पष्टता से उकेरा गया है और भारतीय वस्तशिल्पीय अलंकरण का एक अत्यन्त भव्य उदाहरण प्रस्तुत करता है; वही, पृ० १२।

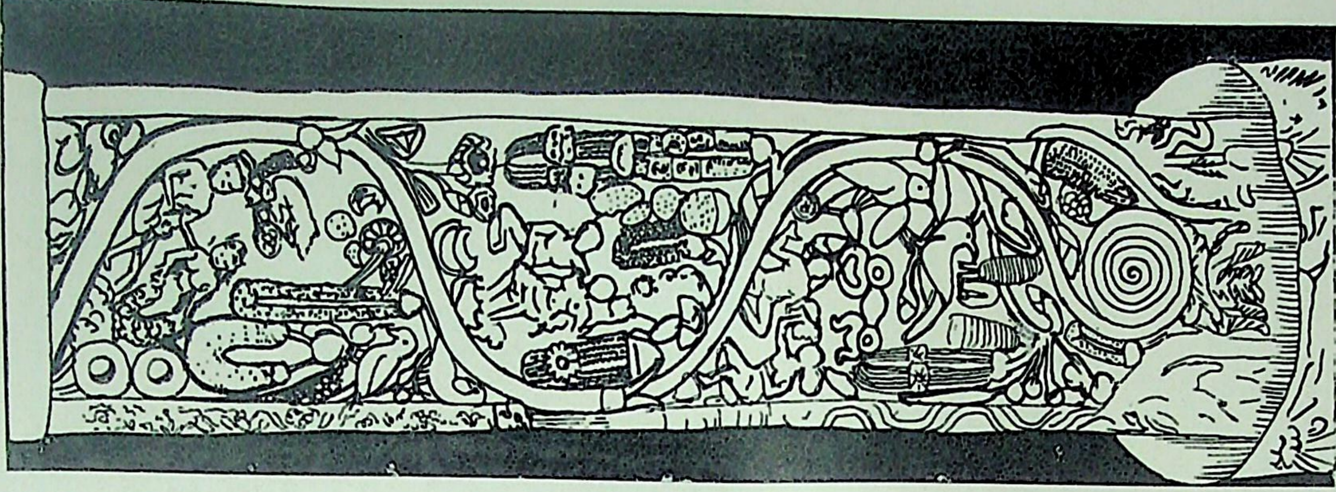
९०. महावणिज जातक, ४९३, दि जातक, खण्ड ४, पृ० ३५२।

९१. महाभारत, भीष्म पर्व ७, ८-९; रामायण, किष्किन्धा काण्ड ४३, ४८; वायुपुराण ४५, ११-५०।

९२. रामायण, अयोध्याकाण्ड, ९१, ९।

९३. वासुदेवशरण अग्रवाल, गुप्ता आर्ट, पृ० १९, चित्र २४; ए, स्मिथ विन्सेन्ट, ए हिस्ट्री ऑफ फाइन आर्ट इन इण्डिया एण्ड सीलोन, पृ० १६८।

९४. हर्षचरित (ईश्वरचन्द्र विद्यासागर, संस्करण १८८३), उच्छ्वास ४, पृ० ९९; अग्रवाल, गुप्ता आर्ट, पृ० १९।



चित्र ३ कल्पवृक्ष

(१७८-१७९)



चित्र ६ कल्पवृक्ष



चित्र ७ कल्पवृक्ष

श्रमपूर्वक माना है।[95] गुप्तकालीन कला के विशिष्ट अभिप्राय-कल्पलता एवं पत्रलता बहुत बाद तक अस्तित्व में बने रहे।[96]

भारतीय कला में कल्पतरु का अंकन केवल तक्षण एवं वास्तु तक ही सीमित नहीं है अपितु इसे सिक्कों व मुहरों पर भी स्थान मिला है, इस पर विचार करने हेतु ख्रष्टाब्द के प्रारम्भ की जनजातीय मुद्राओं का अध्ययन आवश्यक प्रतीत होता है। प्रथम शताब्दी ई० पू० की कुणिन्दकालीन ताम्र मुद्रा के अग्र एवं पृष्ठ भाग पर कामधेनु गाय का चित्रण है जिसके ठीक सामने छत्रयुक्त पर्वत है और गाय के पीछे वेदिका से वेष्टित कल्पवृक्ष है।[97] इस ताम्र-मुद्रा का यह दृश्य रघुवंश के वर्णन के सदृश है जहाँ दैवीय गाय सुरभि के कल्पतरु की छाया में खड़े होने का विवरण मिलता है।[98] मथुरा से प्राप्त सिक्कों एवं यौधेय सिक्कों पर भी कल्पतरु का अंकन गाय के साथ ही हुआ है। द्वितीय शताब्दी की ताम्र-मुद्रा के अग्रभाग पर छः शिरों से युक्त कार्तिकेय अपनी दाहिनी भुजा में माला लिये हुये हैं। उसके पृष्ठ भाग पर गाय अपने सभी चिह्नों—कल्पतरु, मेरु सहित अंकित है।[99] यह मुद्रा किसी यौधेय राजा की है।

कल्पवृक्ष स्वर्ग का वह सनातन महावृक्ष है जो मानव मन की प्रत्येक इच्छा को पूरा करने में सक्षम है। इसकी छत्रछाया में मनोवांछित कामनाओं की पूर्ति क्षण मात्र में हो जाती है। कल्पवृक्ष की वरद शक्ति अमोघ है। सम्पूर्ण सृष्टि में कोई भी ऐसी दुर्लभ वस्तु नहीं है जो कल्पवृक्ष की छाया में अभिलाषा मात्र से तत्काल प्राप्त न

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९५. डी० के० चक्रवर्ती, 'ऑन द सरवाइवल ऑफ सम टिपिकल गुप्ता डेकोरेटिव मोटिफ्ज ऑन द टेम्पेल्स ऑफ पुरुलिया डिस्ट्रिक्ट, वेस्ट बंगाल', जर्नल ऑफ इण्डियन हिस्ट्री, खण्ड ५३, भाग २, अगस्त १९७५, पृ० २३५।

९६. परवर्ती गुप्तकाल में कल्पलता के अभिप्राय को और अधिक विस्तार दिया गया है। उड़ीसा में रत्नगिरि के मन्दिर सं० १ के द्वारमण्डप की पिछली दीवार पर यह लता कलात्मकता से उत्कीर्ण की गयी है। उड़ीसा के वास्तुशिल्पीय ग्रन्थों में इस अभिप्राय विशेष को 'मनुष्यकौतुकी' अथवा 'डालि मन्कुडी' कहा गया है। किंचिंग (जिला मयूरगंज, उड़ीसा) के कन्डीय बेउल, चन्द्रशेखर शिव एवं नीलकण्ठेश्वर शिव के मन्दिरों के स्तम्भों पर यह उद्यान-क्रीड़ा के रूप में आकल्पित है: चक्रवर्ती, उपर्युक्त, पृ० २३६; इसके अतिरिक्त बंगाल में यह पुरुलिया जिले के क्रोश्जुरी गाँव में स्थित सिद्धेश्वर शिव के मन्दिर एवं तेलकुपी के कुछ मन्दिरों के द्वार-स्तम्भों पर भी दर्शनीय है: वही, पृ० २३५-२३६।

९७. शिवराममूर्ति, सम आस्पेक्ट्स ऑफ इण्डियन कल्चर, पृ० ७३, चित्र ६५।

९८. रघुवंश, १, ७५।

९९. शिवराममूर्ति, उपर्युक्त, पृ० ७५, चित्र ६७।

हो जाय । कल्पवृक्ष मन का प्रतीक है । वस्तुतः मन ही कल्पवृक्ष है जो संकल्पमात्र से सभी वस्तुएँ प्रस्तुत कर देता है । सही अर्थों में मन ही सर्वशक्तिशाली स्रष्टा है—हमारे सभी प्रकार के आनन्द का शाश्वत स्रोत, अजस्र झरना जिसमें से आनन्दरस निरन्तर प्रवाहित होता रहता है । मानव मन तो संकल्प-विकल्पों का प्रभव स्थान है ही । मन की शक्तियों का रहस्य संकल्प या समाधि है जो जीवन की अन्तर्मुखी गति को बताता है । यही मन की नियति एवं शक्ति है जो जीवन को असंख्य बरदानों से भर देता है और विकल्प जीवन की बहिर्मुखी गति को इंगित करता है जो व्याधि की ओर ले जाता है और शक्ति को क्षीण कर देता है ।

सूक्ष्मता से विश्लेषण करने पर स्वयं ही स्पष्ट हो जाता है कि मन को कल्पवृक्ष क्यों कहा गया । मस्तिष्क में स्थित केन्द्रीय नाड़ी-जाल का वर्णन पूर्वी व पश्चिमी सभी देशों में एक वृक्ष के रूप में किया गया है । पश्चिमी परिभाषा में इसका नाम 'सेन्ट्रल नर्वस सिस्टम' या arborvittae (tree of life) है । हमारे यहाँ यह एक वनस्पति या वृक्ष है । अनेक धमनी व शिरायें इस वृक्ष की शाखाएँ-प्रशाखाएँ हैं । मनुष्य का स्वास्थ्य और जीवन इसी नाड़ी-संस्थान पर प्रतिष्ठित है । यह वनस्पति ही मनुष्य जीवन के केन्द्र में स्थापित यूप है । इसी से आयुष्य सम्बद्ध है । इस वृक्ष की संज्ञा कल्पवृक्ष है ।

कल्पवृक्ष का चित्रण प्रतीकात्मक है । जिस प्रकार कल्पवृक्ष की छत्रछाया में कामनामात्र से ही इच्छित वस्तु की उपलब्धि होने लगती है उसी प्रकार मानव दृढ़ संकल्पशक्ति के आधार पर मनोवांछित अभिलाषाओं की प्राप्ति कर सकता है । इस प्रकार का कल्पवृक्ष प्रकृति ने प्रत्येक प्राणी के भीतर लगाया है । मनन या चिन्तन मनुष्य का स्वभाव है । विचार के क्षेत्र में मनुष्य चाहे जितनी ऊँचाई तक जा सकता है । यहाँ वह किसी प्रकार की सीमा द्वारा सीमित नहीं है; इसीलिए कहा जाता है कि कल्पवृक्ष के नीचे मानव जो चाहे प्राप्त कर सकता है परन्तु उपलब्धि की यह वास्तविकता कल्पवृक्ष के नीचे तक ही सीमित रहती है । कल्पवृक्ष की छाया से बाहर मन का राज्य समाप्त हो जाता है और मनुष्य जहाँ का तहाँ रह जाता है । विचार मस्तिष्क में उत्पन्न होते हैं । मस्तिष्क की संज्ञा स्वर्ग है जहाँ ज्योतिर्लोक है; इसी कारण कल्पवृक्ष को स्वर्ग का वृक्ष कहा गया है ।

जहाँ धार्मिक आस्था वाले लोग कल्पद्रुम को एक अलौकिक वृक्ष मानते हैं वहीं विद्वान् व अनुसंधानकर्ता इस पुराण-कथा का वैज्ञानिक दृष्टि से पुनर्परीक्षण करने में व्यस्त है । वैदिक संहिताओं में कल्पवृक्ष का उल्लेख नहीं मिलता । सोमलता का उल्लेख वेदों में बारम्बार हुआ है ।[१००] परन्तु दुर्भाग्यवश अभी तक इसकी सही पहचान नहीं

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१००. ऋग्वेद, ९,११३, २; ९,९७,३३; ९,६७, २८; ९,७९, ४; ८,९, १९; १,१६८, ३; ३,४८, २; अथर्ववेद ५,२४ ७; ३,५,४ आदि ।

हो पायी।[१०१] वैद्यक[१०२] में सोमलता को ही कल्पलता बताया गया है परन्तु यह समानता उचित नहीं लगती। वनस्पतिशास्त्री उसकी खोज-बीन किये बिना शांति नहीं पा रहे। वह यह निर्धारित करने में लगे हुए हैं कि वह कौन-सा वृक्ष हो सकता है। सुप्रसिद्ध विद्वान् वैद महोदय भौगोलिक, पुरातात्विक, पौराणिक कथाओं के साम्य एवं अन्य अनेक कारणों के आधार पर कल्पवृक्ष को 'बाओबाब' मानने का सुझाव देते हैं जिसे वनस्पतिवेत्ताओं ने 'एडेन्सोनिया डिजीटाटा' नाम दिया है।[१०३] यह अत्यन्त विलक्षण वृक्ष है और अफ्रीका में प्राप्त वृक्षों में दीर्घतम जीवी वृक्ष जाति का है। ऐसे वृक्ष भारत में बहुत कम संख्या में प्राप्त होते हैं। बाओबाब के इक्के-दुक्के वृक्ष भारत के पश्चिमी तट पर गुजरात और महाराष्ट्र से रामेश्वरम् तक (श्रीलंका में भी) मिलते हैं परन्तु सामूहिक जंगल प्राप्त नहीं होते। मध्य प्रदेश, उत्तर प्रदेश तथा दिल्ली में तिलपट तक इसके मोटे तने वाले वृक्ष मिलते हैं। अधिक आयु का होने के कारण लोग इन्हें पूजते हैं और कहते हैं कि ऐसा वृक्ष अन्यत्र नहीं होता।[१०४] अजमेर के निकट स्थित मांगलियावास नामक गाँव में ऐसे ही दो वृक्ष हैं जो 'नर-नारायण' के नाम से प्रसिद्ध हैं। स्थानीय लोग इन्हें अपनी भाषा में 'कल्प-ब्रिच्छ' कहते हैं। अनेक पीढ़ियों से ये वृक्ष चले आ रहे हैं और किसी ने उन्हें मरते नहीं देखा तो स्वाभाविक ही है कि लोग इन्हें कल्पवृक्ष, कल्पतरु या कल्पद्रुम कहने लगे और इन्हें कामनाएँ पूर्ण करने वाला मानने लगे। अफ्रीका की मरुभूमि और घास में इसी प्रकार के इससे भी बड़े-बड़े वृक्ष पाये जाते हैं। वहाँ के लोगों की भोजन, रेसा, कपड़ा, ईंधन, चारा, औषधि, पानी, मकान आदि से सम्बन्धित कितनी ही तरह की जरूरतें इस वृक्ष से पूरी होती हैं। उनके लिए वह सचमुच कल्पवृक्ष ही है।[१०५]

प्राचीन भारतीय कला में बहुलता से आकल्पित कल्पवृक्ष अथवा कल्पलता का यह अभिप्राय भारत में सार्वभौम रूप से स्वीकृत जीवन के प्रति निश्चयात्मक दृष्टिकोण का सहज परिणाम था जो साहित्य एवं कला दोनों में ही अपने गम्भीर प्रतीकात्मक महत्व के साथ विद्यमान है। इस प्रकार प्राचीन शिल्पियों ने अपनी प्रखर कल्पनाशक्ति के प्रयोग द्वारा एक ऐसे प्रतीक को जन्म दिया जिसने न केवल रूप सौन्दर्य में अभिवृद्धि की अपितु अर्थ की गहराई भी दी।

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१०१. पुरुषोत्तमलाल भार्गव, इण्डिया इन दि वैदिक एज, पृ० ८७।

१०२. सूर्यकान्त, वैदिक कोश, (वैदिक विषयों एवं नामों का) बनारस, १९६३, पृ० ५७६।

१०३. के० एम० वैद, "लक्ष्मी का सहजात कल्पद्रुम" धर्मयुग, ५ नवम्बर १९६७, पृ० १६।

१०४. वही, पृ० १६।

१०५. वैद, कल्पवृक्ष अफ्रीका से आया था," कादम्बिनी, जनवरी १९७७, पृ० ६१-६६।

"वाग्वै ब्रह्म"*

राघव प्रसाद चौधरी

इलाहाबाद

The saying *Vāg Vai Brahma* of *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad* has been elaborated here. The *Śabda* or *Vāk* tattva is Brahma and hence eternal. As wordlly activities emerge from as well as merge in Brahma, in like manner, the words suited for practical purposes of world (*loka-vyavahāra*) emerge from *śabda-brahma*. What is Brahma to Vedāntins is *Vāk* to *Vaiyākaraṇas*.

प्रवाहपरंपरारूपेण प्रवर्तमानेऽतिभयावहत्रिविधतापत्रस्तसकलप्राणिसमीप्सिते सुखे संसारचक्रे अशान्तस्वान्तानां सर्वेषामेव विविधदुःखनिवृत्ति-निर्वृत्ति-संप्राप्ति-विषयिणीप्रवृत्तिरुत्पद्यते। तत्र दुःखनिवृत्ति-निर्वृत्ती तत्तत्कारणध्वंसतत्तत्कारणोपलब्धिसाध्ये। कारणजिज्ञासासमाधानार्थं तज्ज्ञापकं शास्त्रमेव शरणमिति सुविदितमेव प्रेक्षावताम्। शास्त्रोद्दिष्टसरण्यवगतिश्च वाक्यार्थबोधमवलम्ब्यैव भवति। वाक्यार्थबोधश्च वाक्यानां सुप्तिङ्संचयादिरूपत्वात् व्याकरणज्ञानाधीनमेव।[1]

उपरिनिर्दिष्टक्रमेण दुःखात्यन्ताभावं संपाद्य निर्वृत्तिं प्राप्तुं व्याकरणस्यावश्यकत्वं स्पष्टमेव। भाषायां प्रयुज्यमानानां शब्दानां साधुत्वासाधुत्वविवेचनम् अपभ्रंशेभ्यः भाषायाः संरक्षणं च तस्य व्याकरणशास्त्रस्य एकं प्रयोजनमुक्तम्। यदा भाषायां प्रयुज्यमानपदानां प्रयोगकारणादिविषयाः चिन्त्यन्ते तदा पदपदार्थशब्दशक्तिसामर्थ्यादिविषयाणाम् चिन्तनं स्वाभाविकम्। एतेषां पदपदार्थादिविषयाणां सूक्ष्मविश्लेषणक्रमे एतद्व्याकरणशास्त्रं दर्शनशास्त्रीयं स्वरूपं प्राप्नोति। इत्थम् व्याकरणशास्त्रस्य द्विधा विभागः दरीदृश्यते। एकः शब्दानां साधुत्वासाधुत्वविवेचकः विभागः प्रक्रिया भागः, द्वितीयः पदपदार्थशब्दशक्तिसामर्थ्यबोद्धार्थादिविषयविवेचनपरः दार्शनिको विभागः। व्याकरणशास्त्रस्य दार्शनिकभागे सामान्यतः (१) भाषोत्पत्तिः (२) शब्दाभिव्यक्तिः (३) स्फोटात्मकं ध्वन्यात्मकं च द्विविधं शब्दस्वरूपम्, (४) अपभ्रंशकारणम्, (५) पदविवेचनम्, (६) वाक्यविवेचनम्, (७) धात्वर्थपरामर्शः, (८) लकारार्थविवेकः, (९) प्राति-

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* र० के० सं० विद्यापीठ जम्मू नगरे विशिष्टव्याख्यानमालायां पठितो लेखः।

१. तत्त्वावबोधशब्दानां नास्ति व्याकरणादृते, वाक्यपदीयम्, १-१३।

पदिकार्थविचारः, (१०) सुबर्थविचारः, (११) समासशक्तिविवेकः, (१२) शब्दशक्तिः, (१३) निपातार्थः, (१४) स्फोटः, (१५) क्रिया, (१६) कालः, (१७) लिंगम्, (१८) संख्या, (१९) उपग्रहश्च इत्येते विषयाः अन्तर्भूताः भवन्ति। एष्वपि विषयेषु शुद्धः वैयाकरणदार्शनिकः विषयः कः इति जिज्ञासायां शब्दस्वरूपविचारविषयः शुद्ध-दार्शनिकविषयत्वेन उपस्थापनीयः। भगवान् भर्तृहरिः वाक्यपदीयस्य प्रारंभे एव निर्दिशति—

अनादिनिधनं ब्रह्म शब्दतत्त्वं यदक्षरम्।
विवर्ततेऽर्थभावेन प्रक्रिया जगतो यतः ॥[2]

शब्दतत्त्वम् अनादिनिधनम् अक्षरं ब्रह्म वर्तते। सर्वत्रापि जगति तदेव शब्द-तत्त्वम् अर्थभावेन विवर्तते। श्रीभर्तृहरिः सामान्यतः परंपरया वाचमेव शब्दशब्देन अभिदधाति। अर्थात् यत्र व्यवहारे अक्षरस्मृतौ वाक् चिह्नमिव निमित्तं भवति तत्रैव प्रतिबिम्ववत् शब्दरूपेण भासते। तथा च—

यत्र वाचो निमित्तानि चिह्नानीवाक्षरस्मृतेः।
शब्दपूर्वेण योगेन भासन्ते प्रतिबिम्बवत् ॥[3]

भर्तृहरिमते वाचोऽभावे यस्य कस्यापि भावना न कदाचिदपि प्रकाशिता भवितुमर्हति। वागेव प्रपंचं परस्परं संयोजयति, पारस्परिकव्यवहारे माध्यमीभूता शक्तिरपि वागेव। शब्दे बृम्हणशीलत्वं दृष्ट्वा शब्दस्य ब्रह्मत्वसाधने श्रीमतः भर्तृहरेः—'परस्तु शब्दसन्तानः प्रचयापचयात्मकः'[4] इति कथनमपि युक्तमेव। शब्दः दीर्घो ह्रस्वो वा भवेत् ततः स्फोटो जायते, स च व्यवहारे वृद्धिह्रासरूपेण अनवरतमेव प्रवर्तते। अयमेवार्थविस्तारः शब्दस्य व्यापकत्वं बोधयति। यदि ब्रह्मणः स्वरूपं ज्ञानात्मकं स्वीक्रियते तदानीमपि शब्दस्य ब्रह्मरूपत्वे न हानिः। लोके शब्दानुगमं विना किमपि ज्ञानं न विद्यते, सर्वमपि ज्ञानं शब्देन सह अनुविद्धमिव तेनैव भासते। तथा च—

न सोऽस्ति प्रत्ययो लोके यः शब्दानुगमादृते।
अनुविद्धमिव ज्ञानं सर्वं शब्देन भासते ॥[5] इति।

अर्थात् शब्दं विहाय प्रत्ययावगमस्य अस्तित्वसाधनमेव दुष्करम्। शब्दतत्त्वम् अक्षरम् अहीनं च वर्तते इति पूर्वमेव व्यवस्थापितम्। शब्दप्रयोगाधिक्येऽपि शब्दो

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२. वाक्यपदीयम्, १-१।
३. तदेव, १-२०।
४. तदेव, १-१०३।
५. तदेव, १-१२४।

वर्धते एव न हीयते। इत्थम् शब्दतत्त्वम् अथवा वाक् तत्त्वम् ब्रह्म इव नित्यमिति भर्तृहरिमहोदयाः प्रतिपादयन्ति। तथैव शब्दनित्यत्वमधिकृत्य महामहोपाध्यायाः सर्वशास्त्रेष्वप्रतिहतगतयः सर्वतंत्रस्वतंत्राः नागेशभट्टमहोदयाः लघुशब्देन्दुशेखरे 'इति माहेश्वराणि सूत्राणि अणादिसंज्ञार्थानि" इति वैयाकरणसिद्धान्तकौमुदीस्थं प्रतीकमुपादाय—"अत एव सोऽयम् अक्षरसमाम्नायः पुष्पितः फलितश्चन्द्रतारकवत् प्रतिमण्डितो ब्रह्मराशिः"[६] इत्यनेन वेदमूलकत्वेन नित्यत्वं स्वीकृतवन्तः।

यथा सर्वा जगत्प्रक्रिया ब्रह्मणः प्रवर्तते तत्रैव अन्ते जगल्लीनं च भवति, तद्वदेव शब्दब्रह्मणः लोकव्यवहारोपयुक्तशब्दराशिः विवर्तते। सर्वव्यवहाराणां प्रवर्तने सहायकश्च भवति। जगतः पारस्परिकव्यवहारारम्भकं संचालकमपि च शब्दतत्त्वमेव। शब्दतत्त्वमेकमेव सर्वथा अविभाज्यम्, न केनाप्युपायेन शब्दतत्त्वं विविधेषु विभागेषु विभक्तुं शक्यते। संज्ञाशब्दाः, क्रियाशब्दाः इत्यादयो भेदाः केवलं कल्पिताः एव। यथा—क्रियाशब्दः एकः इति स्वीकरणानन्तरमपि तत्र संख्याकालादिकृत विविधाः भेदाः भवन्त्येव। अत एतदेवयुक्तम्—

एकमेव यदाम्नातं भिन्नशक्तिव्यपाश्रयात्।
अपृथक्त्वेऽपि शक्तिभ्यः पृथक्त्वेनैव वर्तते॥[७]

अथात्र प्रसंगात् मतभेदेन शब्दस्य नित्यानित्यत्वप्रक्रिया सूक्ष्मेक्षिकया विविच्यते। "आदिमत्वादैन्द्रियकत्वात् कृतकवदुपचाराच्च"[७] इति गौतमसूत्रानुसारेण आदिमत्त्वादित्यादित्रिभिः हेतुभिः शब्दानित्यत्वम् न्यायदर्शनरीत्या सिध्यति। तत्र न्यायभाष्यकारवात्स्यायनमहोदयाः "आदिः-योनिः-कारणम्, आदीयते अस्मात् इति कारणवदनित्यम् दृष्टम्"। संयोगविभागश्च शब्दः कारणवत्त्वादनित्यः इति। किम् उत्पत्तिकारणम् संयोगविभागौ शब्दस्य, आहोस्विदभिव्यक्तिकारणम्? इत्यत आह ऐन्द्रियकत्वात् इति, इन्द्रियं प्रत्यासत्तिग्राह्यः ऐन्द्रियकः" इति व्याख्यापयामासुः। यथा चक्षुरिन्द्रियग्राह्यत्वात् रूपस्यानित्यत्वं तथैव श्रोत्रेन्द्रियग्राह्यत्वात् शब्दस्याप्यनित्यत्वम्। रूपादिः व्यंजकवशात् समानदेशे अभिव्यज्यते उत् संयोगजात् शब्दाच्छब्दसन्तानन्यायेन वा श्रोत्रपर्यन्तं गच्छति[८]? एतस्यैतत् तात्पर्यम् यत् प्रथमे क्षणे वर्णः उत्पद्यते, द्वितीयक्षणे तिष्ठति, पूर्ववर्णावस्थितिक्षणे एव च द्वितीयः वर्णः उत्पद्यते, तृतीयक्षणे प्रथमक्षणोत्पन्नः पूर्ववर्णः नश्यति, द्वितीयो वर्णस्तिष्ठति, तत्रैव वर्णान्तरमुत्पद्यते द्वितीयश्च नश्यति, इत्येवं क्रमेण उत्पन्नाश्च वर्णाः वर्णान्तरमुत्पादयन्तः

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६. लघुशब्देन्दुशेखरः पृ० ६, चौ० सं०।
७. वाक्यपदीयम्, १-२।
८. न्यायसूत्रम्, अ० १, आ० २, सू० १३।

श्रोतुः श्रोत्रप्रदेशं गत्वा श्रावणप्रत्यक्षविषयतां यान्ति इति संयोगजन्यायेन शब्दस्य ग्रहणं भवति इति नैयायिकानां मतम्। द्वितीयं च प्रयत्नजनितो वर्णः मात्रया वायुं प्रेरयति स च पूर्ववर्णात् वर्णान्तरानुत्पादयति सोऽयं वर्णसंतानः यावद्वायुवेगम् अनुवर्तते, वेगोपरमे च वर्णोपरतिः। एतेन वायुवेगद्वारा वर्णोत्पत्तिरिति, उत्पन्नश्च वर्णसमुदायः शब्दरूपेणाभिनिष्पद्यते इति नैयायिकाः[९] स्वशास्त्रेषु समाख्यापितवन्तः। दारुच्छेदने दारुपरशुसंयोगनिवृत्तौ दूरस्थैरपि पुरुषैः शब्दो गृह्यते व्यंजकाभावेऽपि व्यङ्ग्यस्य ग्रहणात् नैवसंयोगव्यंजको भवितुमर्हति। वस्तुतस्तु संयोगजन्यायेन शब्दाच्छब्दन्यायेन वा शब्द श्रोत्रप्रत्यासन्नो भवति। न च येनेन्द्रियेण यद्गृह्यते यद्गता जातिः तदभावश्च तेनैव गृह्यते इति सामान्यनियमात् घटगतजातेः घटत्वस्य घट इव चाक्षुषत्वेऽपि नित्यत्वमेव, न तु जातेरनित्यत्वम् केनापि तुच्छतरनैयायिकेनापि स्वीक्रियते इत्यनेन इन्द्रियग्राह्यस्यानित्यत्वम् इति नियमेन जातेरनित्यत्वापत्तिः स्यात् इति हेतोः कृतकवदुपचारादिति गौतमसूत्रस्थतृतीयहेतुः संगच्छते। तीव्रं मन्दम् इति कृतकवदुपचर्यते इत्यनेन शब्दो नाभिव्यज्यते, तीव्रं सुखं, मंदं सुखं, तीव्रं दुःखं, मन्दं दुःखम् इतिवत् तीव्रशब्दः मन्दशब्दश्च उपचर्यते। न च प्रकाशस्य तीव्रमन्दतया रूपज्ञानस्य यथा तीव्रमन्दत्वं भवति तद्वत् संयोगनिष्ठव्यंजकस्य तीव्रमन्दतया तीव्रमन्दत्वोपचारः स्यादिति वाच्यम्, तीव्रो भेरीशब्दो मन्दं तन्त्रीशब्दमभिभवति, भेदाभावे चाभिभवानुपपत्तेः। किंच व्यंजकत्वपक्षे अपरोऽपि दोषः समापतति, यथा--व्यंजकभेरीदेशस्थेन शब्देन भिन्नदेशस्थस्य तन्त्रीशब्दस्याभिभावोऽनुपपन्नः, परस्परं सम्बद्धस्यैवाभिभावकत्वाभिभवकत्वोपलंभात् उल्काप्रकाशसूर्यप्रकाशयोरिव, अतएव रात्रस्थोल्काप्रकाशस्य आदित्यप्रकाशेनासम्बद्धत्वात् अभिभवो न जायेत। उत्पत्तिपक्षं तु वीचितरंगन्यायेन भेरीजशब्दजशब्दस्य तन्त्रीजशब्दजशब्देन सम्बद्धत्वात् अभिभवः उत्पद्यते। परस्परसंबंधाभावेऽपि अभिभवस्वीकारे भेरीशब्दे जाते जगति तन्त्रीशब्दो न श्रूयेत इति नैयायिकाः शब्दस्य उच्चारणाधिकरणकालोत्तरकालवृत्तिध्वंसप्रतियोगित्वं व्यवस्थापयन्ति। न च वर्णानां तृतीयक्षणवृत्तिध्वंसप्रतियोगित्वेन कथं शब्दोपलब्धिः, शब्दोपलब्ध्यभावे च वाक्यानुपपत्या शास्त्रोच्छेदापत्तिः स्यादिति तद्दोषनिवारणाय वीचयो वीच्यन्तरमुत्पाद्य नश्यन्ति वर्णास्तु चरमवर्णोत्पत्तिपर्यन्तं सजातीयं वर्णमुत्पादयन्तः एव तिष्ठन्ति इति युगपदेव सर्ववर्णोपलब्धिः सुलभा इति नैयायिकाः प्रतिपादयन्ति। न च वर्णानां तृतीयक्षणवृत्तिध्वंसप्रतियोगित्वे अयं पूर्वः अयं परः इति प्रत्यक्षविषये "इकोयणचि" इति सूत्रस्थसामर्थ्ययोगान्नहि किंचिदस्मिन् पश्यामि शास्त्रे यदनर्थकं स्यात्[१०] इति महाभाष्यानुसारम् इदम् शब्दघटिताभिलापाभिलप्यमानपौर्वापर्यज्ञानस्यासंभवापत्तेः, नष्टस्य प्रत्यक्षविषयकस्य वस्तुनः इदमा परामर्शायोगाच्च। न च "परःसन्निकर्षः

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९. न्यायसिद्धांतमुक्तावली।

१०. महाभाष्यम्, ६-१-७७।

संहिता" इति सूत्रस्थमहाभाष्ये "पौर्वापर्यमकालव्यवेतं संहिता चेत् पूर्वापराभावात् असंहितम् एकवर्णवर्तित्वात् वाचः उच्चरितप्रध्वंसित्वाच्च वर्णानामिति" आक्षेपवार्तिकप्रतीकमुपादाय—"वर्णानामुच्चरितप्रध्वंसित्वेन पौर्वापर्याभावात् संहितासंज्ञा न स्यादित्याक्षिप्य बुद्धिपरिकल्पितपौर्वापर्यसन्निकर्षादिव्यवहारमुपादाय संहितासंज्ञा समुपपद्यते इति प्रकृतस्थं[11] भाष्यं न न्यायमतसाधकम् अपितु अद्वैतवेदान्तवत् व्यावहारिकसत्यत्वमादाय प्रापंचिकसकलव्यवहारनिर्वाहकत्वेन अद्वैतमेव समर्थयति। प्रकृतसूत्रस्थमहाभाष्यं हि "पौर्वापर्यमकालव्यवेतं संहिता चेत् पूर्वापराभावात् संहिता संज्ञा न प्राप्नोति, नहि वर्णानाम् पौर्वापर्यमस्ति। किं कारणम्? एकवर्णवर्तित्वात् वाचः उच्चरितप्रध्वंसित्वाच्च वर्णानाम्। एकैकवर्णवर्तिनी वाक् न द्वौ युगपदुच्चारयति। गौरिति गकारे यावद्वाक् वर्तते नौकारे न विसर्जनीये। यावदौकारे न गकारे न विसर्जनीये यावद्विसर्जनीये न गकारे नौकारे उच्चरितप्रध्वंसित्वात्। उच्चरितप्रध्वंसिनः खल्वपि वर्णाः उच्चरितः प्रध्वस्तः। अथापरः प्रयुज्यते न वर्णो वर्णस्य सहायः। "एवं तर्हि बुद्धौ कृत्वा सर्वाः चेष्टाः कर्ता धीरस्तत्वन्नीतिः। शब्देनार्थान् वाच्यान् दृष्ट्वा बुद्धौ कुर्यात् पौर्वापर्यम्। बुद्धिविषयमेव शब्दानाम् पौर्वापर्यम्। इह य एष मनुष्यः प्रेक्षापूर्वकारी भवति स पश्यति अस्मिन् अर्थे अयम् शब्दः प्रयोक्तव्यः, अस्मिंस्तावच्छब्दे अयम् तावद्वर्णः ततोऽयम् ततोऽयमिति" एवमुपलभ्यते। न च वर्णानामनित्यत्वेऽपि उत्तरोत्तरवर्णप्रत्यक्षकाले संस्कारवशात् अव्यवहितोत्तरत्वसम्बन्धेन पूर्ववर्णवत्वम् तदुत्तरवर्णे ग्रहणात् पदप्रत्यक्षत्वमुपपद्यत एवेति वाच्यम्, अयं पूर्वोऽयं परः इत्यभिलापासंभवेन अव्यवहितोत्तरत्वसंबंधस्यापि वक्तुमयोग्यत्वात् नष्टविद्यमानयोः अव्यवहितोत्तरत्वस्य संबंधतायाः वक्तुम् अशक्यत्वाच्च। शब्दजशब्दन्यायेन पदप्रत्यक्षत्वापादनमपि पदस्याविद्यमानत्वेन शक्त्याश्रयत्वाभावात् न युक्तियुक्तम्, अविद्यमानेऽपि शब्दे आश्रयत्वांगीकारोऽभीष्टः इति चेत् नष्टो घटो जलवान् मृतो नरो विद्वान् इत्याद्यापत्तिरपि अवश्यस्वीकर्तव्यतापातात्। पूर्वपूर्ववर्णानुभवजन्यसंस्कारद्वारा चरमवर्णानुभवः स्यादिति चेत् न, येन क्रमेण पूर्वपूर्ववर्णानामनुभवः तेनैव क्रमेण तत्संस्कारस्यापि स्थितिरित्यत्र एकतरपक्षपातिनी युक्तिरूपविनिगमनाविरहात् सरो रसो नदी दीनः इत्यादि विपरीतसंस्कारोद्बोधेन प्रत्येकपदात् अन्यार्थप्रत्ययापत्तिरूपदोषस्य दुरुद्धरत्वात्। किंच पदवाक्ययोरभावेन शब्दार्थसंबंधस्य अप्यनुपपत्त्या "अशाब्दोऽपि यदि वाक्यार्थः पदार्थोऽपि तथा भवेत्[12] इति वाक्यपदीयस्थश्लोकेन पदसमुदायात्मकवाक्यस्येव वर्णसमुदायरूपपदस्याप्यभावाच्च।

न्यायमूलभूताः वैशेषिकास्तु "गुणस्य सतोऽपवर्गः कर्मभिः साधर्म्यम्"[13]

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११. तदेव, १-४-१०९।

१२. वाक्यपदीयम्, २-१६।

१३. वैशेषिकसूत्रम, अ० २, आ० २, सू० २९।

इति सूत्रबलात् शब्दनित्यत्वप्रमाणानुपलम्भात् आशुविनाशि कर्म इव शब्दस्यापि अनित्यत्वं प्रसाधयामासुः । न च वस्त्राद्यावृतरूपवत् नित्यस्यापि शब्दस्यावरणेनावृत्तत्वात् नोपलब्धिरिति वाच्यम् रूपावरकवस्त्राद्युपलब्धेरिव शब्दावरणानुपलब्धेः । तदुक्तम् "सतो लिंगाभावात्" इति । अर्थात् यत्सदपि निमितान्न गृह्येत तस्य लिंगं सद्भावग्राहकं भवति, शब्दस्य तूच्चारणादूर्ध्वं संयोग्यादेर्लिंगस्याभावादसत्त्वैव । कुड्यादिना वृत्तोऽपि चैत्रादेः वचनश्रवणानंतरं चैत्रो वक्ति मैत्रो वक्ति इत्यनुमीयते, तत्तद्वचनस्य भिन्नरूपत्वात्, शब्दस्य नित्यत्वे तु तस्यैक्यात् भिन्नभिन्नवक्त्रनुमित्यनुपपत्तिः, तदुक्तम् "नित्यवैधर्म्यादिति"[14] अर्थात् उच्चरितप्रध्वंसो नित्यवैधर्म्यम् तस्मादनित्यः इति । अत्र केचन पूर्वपक्षिणः शब्दानित्यत्वे द्वयोर्गुरुशिष्ययोरध्यापनाध्ययने च प्रवर्तमानप्रवृत्तेरपि अभावप्रसंगात्, आचार्यस्थः शब्दः यदन्तेवासिने दीयते तदध्यापनम्, यदि शब्दः नित्यः स्यात् तदा विद्यमानस्य शिष्यस्य देशान्तरप्राप्तिरुत्पद्यते, अनित्यत्वे नास्य देशान्तरप्राप्तिर्घटेत । किंच अध्यापनं नाम शिष्येभ्यः शब्दस्य दानम्, तच्च शब्दस्थिरे सत्येव भवितुमर्हति, नान्यथा । किंच दीयमानं वस्तु दातृप्रतिग्रहीत्रोरंतराले तिष्ठति गौरिव अयं शब्दोऽपि तादृशः । यथा अंतराले विद्यमानमेव गां दाता प्रतिग्रहीत्रे समर्पयति तथैव उच्चारयितृश्रोत्रोरंतरालस्थेनापि शब्दश्रवणात् । अनित्यस्य मध्ये स्थितिः न स्यात् । किंच अभ्यासादपि शब्दस्य नित्यत्वं सिध्यति । यथा पंचकृत्वो रूपं पश्यति स्थिरस्य रूपस्याभ्यासो दृष्टः तथा दशकृत्वोऽधीते अनुवाक इत्यादिभिः अभ्यासैः शब्दस्य स्थैर्ये प्रमाणमुपलभ्यते । एकस्यैव पदस्य दशवाराध्ययने हि स्थैर्यव्यवहारात् । सिद्धे च स्थैर्ये विनाशकानुपलब्धेः—"तावत्कालं स्थिरं चैनं कः पश्चान्नाशयिष्यति"[15] इति न्यायान्नित्यत्वम् इत्येवं समामनंति । तद्युक्तिपदानर्हम् अनित्यत्वे नानात्वेऽपि अध्ययनस्य अभ्यसनस्य प्रत्यभिज्ञानस्य च दृष्टत्वात्, तथाहि—"नृत्यमधीते, नृत्यमभ्यस्यते, द्विरनृत्यत् यदेव नृत्यम् परुदकार्षीत, तदेवैषमः करोति, यदेव नृत्यमेकेन चारणेन कृतं तदेवायं करोति" इत्यादिक्रियारूपे नृत्ये शब्दनित्यत्ववादिनापि नित्यतुल्यव्यवहारस्य दृष्टत्वात् अध्ययनादिना शब्दनित्यत्वस्य साधयितुमशक्यत्वाच्च इति प्रतिपादयताम् शब्दानित्यत्ववादिनां वैशेषिकानां मतम् पूर्वोक्तदोषाक्रांतत्वात् न समीचीनम् । शब्दानित्यत्ववादिनाम् अनंतवर्णानंत्यतद्द्वारा तद्ध्वंसप्रागभावकल्पनम् पदादीनां बोधकत्वसिद्धये तत्प्रयोजकसंस्कारस्मृतिस्वीकारे च महद्गौरवम् । वर्णानामनित्यत्वे तन्मूलकपदवाक्यानित्यतया शास्त्रोच्छेदापत्तिरूपदोषस्य दुरुद्धरत्वाच्च ।

प्राचीनभाषातत्त्वज्ञेष्वन्यतमाः शब्दशास्त्रनिष्णाताः श्रीमन्तः यास्काचार्यमहोदयाः अपि शब्दानित्यत्वं व्यवस्थापयताम् आचार्योदुंबराणाम् मतं प्रत्याख्याय शब्दस्य

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१४. वैशेषिकसूत्रम्, २-२-२६ ।

१५. श्लोकवार्तिकम्, पृ० ८३३, श्लो० ३६६ ।

नित्यत्वम् व्यापकत्वम् अणुत्वं च साधयामासुः। अतएव निरुक्ते "व्याप्तिमत्वात्तु शब्दस्य अणियस्त्वाच्च शब्देन संज्ञाकरणं व्यवहारार्थं लोके" इति पाठः उपलभ्यते।

अत्र मीमांसकसांख्ययोगवेदान्ताचार्याः अपि शब्दनित्यत्ववादिमतमिव मतैक्यमवलंब्यमानाः दरीदृश्यन्ते। तथाहि-मीमांसाचार्याः उपवर्षमहोदयाः स्वीये शाबरभाष्ये[१६] अथ गौरित्यत्र कः शब्दः? गकारौकारविसर्जनीयाः इति कण्ठताल्वाद्यभिघातानाम् श्रवणेंद्रियविषयाणां वर्णानामेव शब्दत्वं वाचकत्वं चास्ति इति प्रतिपादयामासुः। प्रकरणपंचिका-ग्रंथप्रणेतारः शालिकमहोदयाः अपि—"कः शब्दः अभिमतः? वर्णाः, तेषामेव शब्दग्राह्यत्वात्" इति प्रतिपादितवन्तः। "श्रोत्रग्रहणे ह्यर्थे लोके शब्दशब्दः प्रसिद्धः" इति भाष्यरीत्या अन्यस्मिन् दिने अनुभूते अद्यानुभूयमानस्य सोऽयमिति प्रत्यभिज्ञया तावत्काल स्थिरत्वे सिद्धे 'तावत्कालं स्थिरं चैनं कः पश्चान्नाशयिष्यति' इति न्यायात् पराभिमताशुविनाशित्वव्यतिरेके सिद्धे नित्यत्वपर्यवसानम् पर्यवस्यति सर्वदेशेषु तदुपलंभात् विभुत्वं, लाघवाच्चैकत्वम् आनुपूर्वघटकम् अव्यवहितोत्तरत्वं चैतत् पक्षे उत्पत्यनवच्छिन्न स्वज्ञानाधिकरणकालोत्पत्तिज्ञानविषयत्वम्। यथा—अत्यन्तरागवतः कामिनी साक्षात्कारस्थले ज्ञानधाराकल्पने गौरवादेकत्वं तद्वत् ज्ञानानामप्येतत् विषये स्थिरत्वमेव सिध्यति। इदं तावदत्र जिज्ञास्यम्—एकस्मिन् पदे प्रत्येकवर्णानामर्थबोधकत्वम् आहोस्वित् समुदितानाम्? न तावत्प्रथमः, एकैकस्मात् अर्थाप्रतीतेः, न द्वितीयः क्षणविनाशिनां वर्णानां समुदायानुपपत्तेः, प्रतिवर्णं संस्कारकल्पने गौरवापत्तेश्च। अतः वर्णोच्चारणानंतरं यतः अर्थप्रत्ययः भवति सोऽयं स्फोटकत्वेन प्रकाशकत्वेन स्फोटः इति उच्यते।"पूर्वपूर्ववर्णजनितसंस्कारसहितोऽन्त्यो वर्णः प्रत्यायकः" इति भाष्यपर्यालोचनया[१७] पूर्वपूर्ववर्णानुभवजनितसंस्कारेण अन्त्यवर्णस्यैव प्रत्यायकत्वात्, व्यापारस्य चाव्यवधायकत्वात् शब्दादर्थं प्रतिपद्यामहे इति उपपद्यते। एवञ्च शब्दादिष्वेकवचनमपि जातिपक्षमादायोपपद्यते। तथा चोक्तम्—

> "यदि वा पूर्वसंस्कारः इतिकर्तव्यतेष्यते।
> वर्णान्त्यो गमकस्तस्य शब्दत्वान्मुख्यता भवेत्"[१८]

अत्र केचित् सद्रूपान्यवर्णविषयप्रत्यक्षं पूर्वेषु चातीतेषु वर्णेषु स्मृतिरूपेति चित्रस्वरूपा बुद्धिः सर्वथा प्रतीतिहेतुः इति प्रतिपादयंति। तथा चोक्तम्—

> चित्ररूपां च तां बुद्धिं सदसद्वर्णगोचराम्।
> केचिदाहुर्यया वर्णो गृह्यतेऽन्त्यः पदे पदे॥
> अन्त्यवर्णेऽपि विज्ञाते पूर्वसंस्कारकारितम्।
> स्मरणं यौगपद्येव सर्वेष्वन्ये प्रचक्षते॥[१९]

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१६. शाबरभाष्यम्, १-१-५।
१७. तदेव।
१८. श्लोकवार्तिकम् १३, पृ० ४७२।
१९. तदेव, १११-१२, पृ० ४६८।

इति प्रतिपादनेन एतदनुभूयते यत् सर्वे सर्वार्थवाचकाः इति वैयाकरणीं पद्धतिमनुसृत्य मीमांसादर्शनेऽपि यथावदुपपद्यते न च "आम्नायस्य क्रियार्थत्वादानर्थक्यमतदर्थानाम् तस्मादनित्यम्" इत्युच्यते,[२०] तथा "अनित्यसंयोगान्मंत्रानर्थक्यम्" इति इत्यादिरीत्या वेदमंत्राणामेवानित्यत्वात् शब्दानित्यत्वमपि स्यादिति वाच्यम्—

तस्मान्नपदधर्मोऽस्ति विनाशी कश्चिदीदृशः ।
तेन नित्यपदं सिद्धं वर्णनित्यत्ववादिनाम् ॥[२१] इत्यनेन विरोधात् ।

पातंजलयोगाचार्यास्तु पदस्फोटस्य वाक्यस्फोटस्य च वाचकत्वं स्वीकुर्वन्तः वर्णानां वाचकत्वं प्रत्याचक्षते । तथाहि—नियतक्रमिकोत्पन्नैः वर्णैः अर्थप्रत्ययः क्षणिकत्वात् अशक्यः । न च संस्कारद्वारा "अग्निहोत्रं जुहुयात्" इत्यादौ आग्न्यादीनामिव परमापूर्वे वा स्वर्गे जनयितव्ये अनियतक्रमाणामपि वर्णानाम् साहित्यम् अर्थबुद्ध्युपजनने स्यादिति वाच्यम् विकल्पासहत्वात् । सोऽयं वर्णानुभवसंस्कारजन्यः स्मृतिप्रसवहेतुर्वा अन्याग्न्यादिजन्य इव अपूर्वम् अभिदधाति, न तु अनंतरः कल्पनागौरवापत्तेः । अयं च संस्कारः स्वकारणानुभवविषयनियत एव, न तु विषयान्तरानुभवविषयकप्रत्ययाधानसमर्थः, अन्यथा यत् किंचित् पूर्वानुभूतस्यैकैकस्यापि विषयस्य सर्वज्ञतापत्तिः दुरुद्धारा स्यात् । न च प्रत्येकवर्णानुभवजन्यसंस्कारलब्धजन्यस्मृतिवशात् सहोच्चारिताः एव वर्णाः वाचका इति वाच्यम्, क्रमाक्रमविपरीतक्रमानुभूतानां शब्दानां तत्र सामान्येन अर्थधीजननप्रसंगात् । तथा च असहभाविनामपि वर्णानां संस्कारद्वारेण अस्ति सहभाव इति विशेषणविशेष्यभावस्थलेऽपि वर्णसमुदायस्य वार्थवाचकत्वात् । "शब्दार्थप्रत्ययानामितरेतराध्यासात् संकरस्तत्प्रविभागसंभवात् सर्वभूतरुतज्ञानम्"[२२] इत्यनेन वर्णव्यंग्यं पदं पदव्यंग्यं वाक्यं शक्त्यादिवत्या बोधकमिति शब्दतत्त्वं नित्यमिति ज्ञायते । पदस्फोटरूपेण वाक्यस्फोटरूपेण च कार्यं संपादयंन्तः वर्णानां वाचकत्वं प्रत्याचख्युः ।

सांख्यास्तु कंबुग्रीवाद्यवयवेभ्योऽतिरिक्तघटाद्यवयवी इव प्रत्येकवर्णेभ्योऽतिरिक्तं कलशः इत्यादिरूपम् अखण्डमेकं पदं स्फोटरूपं योगैरभ्युपगम्यते इति प्रतिपादयंति । अत्र यथाविधि शब्दविशेषः पदाख्योऽर्थस्फुटीकरणात् स्फोटः इत्युच्यते । स शब्दः अप्रामाणिकः । कुतः ? प्रतीत्यप्रतीतिभ्याम् । स स्फोटाख्यः शब्दः प्रतीयते न वा ? न तावत् प्रथमः, येन वर्णसमुदायेन आनुपूर्विविशिष्टेन सोऽभिव्यज्यते तस्यैवार्थप्रत्यायकत्वेन तदंतर्वर्तिस्फोटस्वीकारे प्रयोजनाभावात् । न द्वितीयः अज्ञातस्य स्फोटस्यार्थप्रत्यायकत्वाभावात् स्फोटकल्पनैव व्यर्था । स एवायं गकारः इति प्रत्यभिज्ञाबलात् वर्णानित्य-

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२०. जै० सू०, १-२-१ ।
२१. श्लोकवार्तिकम्, १०८, श्लो० ३०५ ।
२२. पातंजलयोगसूत्रम्, ३-१७ ।

त्वमपि न युक्तम् । उत्पन्नो गकारः इत्यादि प्रतीत्या वर्णानित्यत्वसिद्धेः । प्रत्यभिज्ञा च तज्जातीयविषये एव प्रवर्तते न तु सर्वत्र, अन्यथा प्रत्यभिज्ञया घटादेरपि नित्यत्वापत्तेः इति सांख्याचार्याः अपि नांतरीयकतया वर्णानित्यत्वप्रक्रियां स्वीकुर्वन्ति ।

वेदांतिनस्तु स्फोटाभावात् वर्णानामेव वाचकत्वम् स्वीकुर्वन्ति । वर्णानां वाचकत्वाभावे तदतिरिक्तरूपेण अनुभवपद्धतिमध्युषितस्य स्फोटस्य अंगीकारापत्तेः । न च वर्णानां क्षणस्थायित्वात् अशक्यसंगतिग्रहत्वेन कथं नित्यत्वमिति न शंकनीयम्, वेदांतिनये वर्णानां क्षणिकत्वे मानाभावात् । प्रत्युच्चारणशब्दभेदशंका अपि प्रत्यभिज्ञा-विरोधात् नांगीकारार्हा । स्फोटवादिनस्तु दृष्टहानिरदृष्टकल्पना च कर्तव्या भवति, वर्णाश्चेमे क्रमेण गृह्यमाणाः स्फोटं व्यंजयंति, स च स्फोटो अर्थमभिव्यनक्ति इति गरीयसी कल्पना स्यात् । अतः वर्णानामेव वाचकत्वम्, नित्यत्वम् विभुत्वं च । न च सृष्टिप्रलयमध्ये प्रापंचिकसकलव्यवहाराणां विनाशित्वात् अनित्यत्वे शब्दस्यापि तदंतर्गतत्वेन अनित्यत्वमेव स्यादिति वाच्यम्, सृष्टिप्रलयमध्येऽपि सूक्ष्मरूपेण तस्य विद्यमानत्वात् । इदमत्र तात्पर्यम्—वेदान्तिनः "वागेव विश्वा भुवनानि जज्ञे", "ओमित्येतदक्षरम् इदं सर्वम्", "एष उ एव बृहस्पतिर्वाग्वै बृहती तस्या एष पतिस्तस्मादु बृहस्पतिः । एष उ एव ब्रह्मणस्पतिर्वाग्वै ब्रह्म तस्या एष पतिस्तस्मादु ब्रह्मणस्पतिः"[२३] इत्यनया श्रुत्या च वाचः ब्रह्मरूपत्वम् प्रतिपादितम्, अर्थात् वेदान्तिनाम् नये वाग्रूपात्मकेनैव ब्रह्मणा कृत्स्नम् अपि जगत् विवर्तते । तथा च एतेषां मते वाग्रूपस्य ब्रह्मणः पृथक् सत्वात् स्फोटांगीकारप्रयासो विफल एव ।

एवं भारतीयदर्शनशास्त्रेषु उपलभ्यमानशब्दनित्यत्वप्रक्रिया शास्त्रोपलब्ध्या स्वबुद्ध्या च समुपस्थापिता । अतः परं किमपि अतीव संक्षेपात् शब्दानित्यत्ववादिनां मते दोषः परिगण्यते । शब्दानित्यत्ववादिनां नैयायिकादीनामनंतवर्णानित्यतद्द्वारा तद्ध्वंस प्रागभावकल्पना, पदादीनां बोधकत्वसिद्धये तत्प्रयोजकसंस्कारस्मृतिकल्पने च महद्गौरवमिति न कथमपि एतेषा मतं बुद्धिमधिगच्छति । एवं मीमांसकादीनां मते वर्णानाम् विभुत्वनित्यत्वस्वीकारे यद्यपि अनंतवर्णतद्ध्वंसप्रागभावाकल्पनया वर्णानित्यत्ववादिनोऽपेक्षया लाघवः वर्तते, तथापि नव स्वराणाम् त्रयस्त्रिंशत् व्यंजनानां विसर्गादीनां नित्यानां स्वीकरणे, तद्व्यंजकानां ध्वनीनां क्रमेणाभिव्यक्तिमता प्रत्येकवर्णेनार्थाबोधात् सकलोच्चारणानन्तरं बोधदर्शनात् संहत्यकारितोपपत्तये, तत्प्रयोजकभावनाख्यसंस्कार-स्मृतिकल्पेन च गौरवात् सर्वानुभूतपदवाक्यादीनां मिथ्यात्वकल्पनस्यानुचितत्वात् तेषामपि मतम् चिंत्यमेव । अतः अस्वकत्वधर्मवन्तः वर्णरूपाः ध्वनयः एव अर्थप्रत्यायकम् स्वरूपरूषितं कालत्रयाबाधितम् शब्दब्रह्मैव व्यंजयंति ।

तत्र कोऽयं शब्दः ? इत्यस्यां विचिकित्सायां सपिपत्स्यमानायां सत्यां पाणि-

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२३. बृहदारण्यकोपनिषद्, ब्राह्म ३, मंत्रः २०-२१ ।

नीयसूत्रोपजीव्यमहाभाष्यप्रणेतारः साक्षात् शेषावतारभूताः भगवंतः पतंजलिमहाभागाः "अथ शब्दानुशासनम्"[२४] इति शास्त्रप्रयोजनाधिकरणे महाभाष्ये समाचिख्यापयामासुः। तत्र "केषां शब्दानाम्" इति भाष्यस्थम् केषाम् इति प्रतीकमुपादाय "सामान्यशब्दत्वात्" इति प्रदीपस्थ-शब्दस्य नागेशभट्टेन "लोकव्यवहारे ध्वनावपभ्रंशे च शब्दशब्दप्रयोगात् इति भावः" इति व्याख्यातः। लोकव्यवहारे इति पृथक् कथनात् स्पष्टमेव लोकव्यवहारे प्रयुक्तशब्दव्यतिरिक्तशब्दस्थलमपि शब्दशब्देनाभिधीयते। तदेव शब्दरूपं शब्दब्रह्म इति भाष्याभिमतम्। लोके व्यवहर्तृषु पदार्थबोधकत्वेन प्रसिद्धः श्रोत्रेंद्रियग्राह्यत्वात् वर्णरूपध्वनिसमूह एव शब्दः उच्यते। तस्यार्थबोधकता तु अविचारितरमणीयस्यैव लोके सिद्धा तादृशस्यैव शास्त्रेण अन्वाख्यानम् इति तात्पर्यमादायैव स्वयमेव महाभाष्यकाराः "प्रतीतपदार्थको लोके ध्वनिः शब्दः[२५] इत्युच्यते" इति प्रतिपादितवंतः। अनेन एतत् पर्यवसीयते यत् शास्त्रव्याख्येयभूतः लौकिकप्रक्रियानिर्वाहकः कश्चन शब्दः भवति, यत्र काल-कारक-लिंग-वचनादिकल्पनद्वारा सिद्धिः कल्प्यते। अन्यत्र "इदमक्षरच्छन्दो वर्णशः समनुक्रांतं यथा आचार्याः ऊचुः ब्रह्मा बृहस्पतये प्रोवाच, बृहस्पतिः इन्द्राय, इन्द्रो भरद्वाजाय, भरद्वाजः ऋषिभ्यः, ऋषयो ब्राह्मणेभ्यः, तं खल्विदम् अक्षरसमाम्नायम् इत्याचक्षते। न भुक्त्वा न नक्तं प्रब्रूयात ब्रह्मराशिः" इति ऋक्तंत्रव्याकरणे प्रतिपादितशाकटायनरीत्या तस्य शब्दस्य ब्रह्मरूपत्वं ज्ञायते।[२६] अत एव प्रमाणभूतेन आचार्येण महर्षिपाणिनिना "जात्याख्यायामेकस्मिन् बहुवचनमन्यतरस्याम्"[२७] "सरूपाणामेकशेष एकविभक्तौ"[२८] इति उभयविधाकृतिद्रव्यपदार्थं मत्वा उभयथा सूत्रं प्रणीतम्। अस्यैतत् तात्पर्यम् यत् प्रक्रियादशायाम् एकवचनं द्विवचनबहुवचनोपपत्तये सरूपाणामिति सूत्रं सप्रयोजनम्, प्रक्रियाविरहितायां दशायां च जात्याख्यायाम् इति सूत्रं सप्रयोजनमिति।

सर्वेष्वपि शास्त्रेषु मुखस्थानापन्नस्य व्याकरणशास्त्रस्य दार्शनिकत्वव्यवस्थासंपादनार्थं लौकिकपारमार्थिकोभयविधदशाज्ञापनाय "सकृद्गतौ विप्रतिषेधे यद्बाधितं तद्बाधितमेव"[२९] "पुनः प्रसंगविज्ञानात् सिद्धम्"[३०] इत्येवं रूपेण उभयथा परिभाषाग्रंथप्रणेतारः आव्याडेः पुरुषोत्तमदेव नागेशभट्टादयः स्वेषु ग्रंथेषु समुपवर्ण-

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२४. महाभाष्यम्, पस्पशाह्निकप्रारंभे।

२५. तदेव।

२६. लघुशब्देन्दुशेखरः।

२७. पा० सू०, १-२-५८।

२८. पा० सू०, १-२-६४।

२९. परिभाषेन्दुशेखरः, परिभाषा ४०।

३०. तदेव ३९।

यामासुः । इदमेवात्र जिज्ञास्यं यत् संस्कृतसाहित्यमूलभूते व्याकरणशास्त्रेऽपि दार्शनिक-तत्त्वविचारणावसरे समस्तलौकिकप्रक्रियानिर्वाहिकायाः वाचः पारमार्थिकव्यावहारिकोभयविधस्वरूपं हृदयस्थीकृत्यैव पारमार्थिकदशाज्ञापनाय जातिपक्षनिर्वाहकं सूत्रं व्यावहारिकदशाबोधनाय च एकशेषविधायकं सूत्रं महर्षिपाणिनिमहाभागाः प्रणिन्युः । एतामेवोभयविधां प्रक्रियां बुबोधयिषया व्याडिमहोदया अपि जातिव्यक्त्युभयपक्ष-बोधिकां परिभाषां निर्मासिषुः । अत एव—

प्रसिद्धमपि शब्दार्थम् अविज्ञातमबुद्धिभिः ।
पुनर्व्यक्तीकरिष्यामि वाच उच्चारणे विधम् ॥[३१]

इति पाणिनीयशिक्षापि लौकिकप्रक्रियानिर्वाहाय वागुच्चारणविधं समर्थयति । यथा अद्वैतवेदान्ते 'तत्त्वमसि' इत्यादि उपनिषद्वचनानुसारेण निरस्तसमस्ताविद्यकः एव पुरुषः 'अहं ब्रह्मास्मि' इत्युपनिषद्वचनानुसारं सायुज्यं प्राप्नोति तद्वदेवात्रापि नामाख्यातोपसर्गनिपातसुबंततिङंतकारकलिंगवचनादि तत्तदवयवविशिष्टसमुदित-समस्तव्याकरणशास्त्रस्य लौकिकप्रक्रियानिर्वाहकमविद्यास्थानापन्नं यावत् पूर्णतः न परिज्ञायते न तावत्तस्य बुद्धिः ब्रह्मात्मिकायां वाचि संयुज्यते । अत एव—

उपायाः शिक्षमाणानां बालानामुपलालनाः ।
असत्ये वर्त्मनि स्थित्वा ततः सत्यं समीहते ॥[३२] इति

भर्तृहरिकारिकां समुल्लेखयता भट्टोजिदीक्षितेन विदुषा—'अर्थवदधातुरप्रत्ययः प्रातिपदिकम्'[३३] इति अत्र "अत्रेदं वक्तव्यं धातुरनर्थकः इति तावत् व्याहतम्" इति विचारप्रसंगे "प्रकृतिप्रत्ययविभागस्तत्तदर्थविभागश्च सर्वः कल्पित एव । परमार्थस्तु स्फोट एव अर्थवान् इति सिद्धान्तः प्रत्यपादि । तत्रैव शब्दरत्ने श्रीहरिदीक्षितेनापि "स्फोट एव" इति प्रतीकमुपादाय पदरूपो वाक्यरूपो वेत्यर्थः लोकानां तत्रैव शक्ति-ग्रहेण बोधात् इति भावः । अत एव तस्य परमार्थत्वम् लोके बोधजनकत्वात् शास्त्रे प्रकृतिप्रत्ययविभागोत्पादनेन विशिष्टपदस्यैव तत्तदर्थबोधनद्वारा विशिष्टे पदे विशिष्टार्थबोधकत्वमेव बोध्यते, इति समलेखि । अत एव "यदागमपरिभाषायाम्[३४] अनागमकानां सागमकाः आदेशाः" इति भाष्यकारीयां पंक्तिमुद्धृत्य "आर्धधातुकस्येड्वलादेः" इत्यत्र अर्धधातुकस्येडागमः इत्यर्थे ज्ञाते नित्येषु शब्देषु आगमविधानानुपपत्यर्थापत्तिमूलकवाक्यांतरकल्पनेन इड् रहितबुद्धिप्रसंगे सेड्बुद्धिः कर्तव्येति, बुद्धेरेवा-

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३१. पाणिनीय शिक्षा, २ ।
३२. वाक्यपदीयम् २-२३८ ।
३३. पा० सू०, १-२-४५ ।
३४. परिभा०, १?, पृ० २७ ।

नित्यत्वप्रतिपादनद्वारा नित्यशब्दस्य अखण्डत्वम् परिभाषेंदुशेखरकाराः अपि समर्थयामासुः ।

शब्दनित्यत्वमभिलक्ष्यैव "सिद्धे शब्दार्थसंबंधे" इति वार्तिके "सिद्धाद्यौः सिद्धः ओदनः इति नित्यानित्योभयत्र सिद्धशब्दस्य प्रयोगात्" व्याख्यानतो विशेषप्रतिपत्तिर्न हि संदेहादलक्षम् इति परिभाषया सिद्धशब्दस्य नित्यमर्थं व्यवस्थाप्य मंगलार्थत्वं पस्पशाह्निके भाष्यकृता समर्थितम् । अनेन आपाणिनेः भट्टनागेशपर्यंतं निर्मितानां प्रमुखव्याकरणग्रन्थानां अध्ययनेन शब्दस्य नित्यं शुद्धं परं रूपमन्यत् व्यावहारिकं चान्यत् इति पर्यवसीयते ।

अथेदानीम् अस्मिन् व्याकरणदर्शने ब्रह्मस्थानापन्नस्य शब्दस्य द्विविधे रूपनिरूपिते सति पारमार्थिकस्य शब्दस्य किं स्वरूपम् इत्यस्यां जिज्ञासायां—"स्वरूपं विद्यते यस्य तस्यात्मा न निरूप्यते । नास्ति यस्य स्वरूपं तु तस्यैवात्मा निरूप्यते ।[३५] इति भर्तृहरिणा नामरूपगुणविकाररहितं स्वरूपं निरूपितम् । इत्थम् व्यावहारिकदशायां समस्तजगत्प्रकाशकत्वं निरस्तनिखिलहेयदोषानंतकल्याणगुणगणविशिष्टं शब्दतत्त्वं प्रतिपादितम् । न च व्यावहारिकदशायां तस्यैव शुद्धस्वरूपस्य शब्दस्य अस्मिन् जगति व्यवह्रियमाणानां शब्दानां विवर्तभूतत्वात् जायते अस्ति वर्धते विपरिणमते अपक्षीयते विनश्यति रूप षड्भावविकारापत्तिः स्यादिति वाच्यम्—"पदभेदेऽपि वर्णानामेकत्वं न निवर्तते । वाक्येषु पदमेकं च भिन्नेष्वप्युपलभ्यते"[३६] । पदे न वर्णाः विद्यन्ते वाक्येष्ववयवा न च । वाक्यात् पदानामत्यंतं प्रविवेको न कश्चन ।[३७] इत्यादिरीत्या भेदस्यौपाधिकत्वस्वीकारात् । अत्र स्फोटाख्यः वाग्रूपः परापश्यन्तीमध्यमावैखरीभेदेन चतुर्धा विभज्यते । तथाहि—परावाङ्मूलचक्रस्था पश्यंती नाभिसंस्थिता । हृदिस्था मध्यमा ज्ञेया वैखरी कंठदेशगा[३८] इति । तत्र मूलाधारस्थपवनसंस्कारीभूता मूलाधारस्था शब्दरूपब्रह्मरूपा स्पन्दशून्या बिंदुरूपिणी परावाक् उच्यते । नाभिपर्यन्तमागच्छता तेन वायुनाभिव्यक्ता मनोगोचरीभूता पश्यन्ती वाक् उच्यते । एतद्द्वयं वाक् ब्रह्म योगिनां समाधौ निर्विकल्पकसविकल्पकज्ञानविषयो भवतीति उच्यते । ततो हृदयपर्यन्तमागच्छता तेन वायुनाभिव्यक्ता तत्तदर्थवाचकशब्दस्फोटरूपा श्रोत्रग्रहणायोग्यत्वेन सूक्ष्मा जपादौ बुद्धिनिर्ग्राह्या मध्यमा वाक् उच्यते । आस्यपर्यन्तमागच्छता तेन वायुना ऊर्ध्वमाक्रामता च मूर्धानमाहत्य परावृत्य च तत्तत्स्थानेष्वभिव्यक्ता परश्रोत्रेणापि ग्राह्या वैखरी वाक् उच्यते । तथा हि—

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३५. वाक्यपदीयम्, २-४१६ ।

३६. तदेव, १-७१ ।

३७. तदेव, १-७३ ।

३८. परमलघुमंजूषा-स्फोटविचारे ।

"वैखर्या हि कृतो नादः परश्रवणगोचरः ।
मध्यमया कृतो नादः स्फोटव्यंजक उच्यते ।। इत्यपि दृश्यते ।[३९]

मध्यमावैखरीभ्यां युगपदेव नादः उत्पद्यते, तत्र मध्यमानादो अर्थवाचकस्फोटात्मकशब्द-व्यंजकः, वैखरीनादो ध्वनि सकलजनश्रोत्रात्रमात्रग्राह्यभेर्यादिनादवन्निरर्थकः, मध्यमानादश्च सूक्ष्मतरः कर्णपिधाने जपादौ च सूक्ष्मतरवायुव्यंग्यः शब्दब्रह्मरूपस्फोट-व्यंजकश्च तादृशमध्यमानादव्यंग्यः शब्दः स्फोटात्मकः ब्रह्मरूपो नित्यश्च सिध्यति इत्यादिना अन्यत्राप्युपलभ्यते । तथाहि—

'स्वरूपज्योतिरेवांतः परावागनपायिनी ।
तस्यां दृष्टस्वरूपायामधिकारो निवर्तते ।। इति ।[४०]

चत्वारि वाक् परिमिता पदानि तानि विदुर्ब्राह्मणा ये मनीषिणः ।
गुहात्रीणि निहिता नेंगयंति तुरीयं वाचो मनुष्याः वदन्ति ।।[४१]

इति ऋग्वेदस्थमंत्रेऽपि चत्वारि पदानीत्यनेन परा, पश्यन्ती, मध्यमा, वैखरी रूपाणि प्रदर्शितानि । पतंजलिना तु चत्वारि पदेन नामाख्यातोपसर्गनिपातानां नाम प्रदर्श्य "गुहायां त्रीणि निहितानि नेंगयंति न चेष्टन्ते न निमिषंति इत्यर्थः" इति प्रतिपादनेन माधवाभिमतं व्याख्यानमपि मन्यत एवेति गम्यते । अतः नंदिकेश्वरेणापि उक्तम्—

अकारः सर्ववर्णाग्र्यः प्रकाशः परमेश्वरः ।
आद्यमन्तेन संयोगादहमित्येव जायते ।।
इकारादिहकारांता वर्णाः समभवंस्ततः ।
सर्वं परात्मकं पूर्वं ज्ञप्तिमात्रमिदं जगत् ।।
ज्ञप्तेर्बभूव पश्यन्ती मध्यमावाक् ततः परम् ।
वक्त्रे विशुद्धचक्राख्ये वैखरी सा मता ततः ।।
वृत्तिवृत्तिमतोरत्र भेदलेशो न विद्यते ।
चंद्रचंद्रिकयोर्यद्वत् तथा वागर्थयोरपि ।।

इत्यनेन वाचः चातुर्विध्यं वेदादिशास्त्रादेवोपलभ्यते ।

अत्र प्रसंगात् किंचित् स्फोटमधिकृत्योच्यते । तथा हि स्फुटति प्रकाशते अव-गम्यतेऽर्थोऽनेनास्माद्वेति व्युत्पत्या अर्थविषयकोपस्थितिजनकतावच्छेदकीभूतशक्तिमत्वं स्फोटत्वम् । लक्षणसमन्वयश्चेत्थम्-अर्थः-घटपटादिरूपः, तद्विषयकोपस्थितिः-घटत्वादि-

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३९. परमलघुमंजूषा—स्फोटविचारः ।
४०. महाभारतम् ।
४१. ऋग्वेदः, १-१६४-४५ ।

प्रकाशकघटादिविशेष्यकोपस्थितिः, तज्जनकता "घटशब्दो घटत्वावच्छिन्नार्थनिरूपित-शक्तिमान्" इति ज्ञाने अवच्छेदकत्वं शक्ती ।

एवञ्च वर्णस्फोटशब्देन कल्पितसुप्तिङन्तपदादिरूपपदतत्समुदायरूपवाक्येतरो यः प्रकृतिप्रत्ययादिः तद्व्यंग्यस्फोटस्यैवग्रहणं भवति । यथा 'गच्छति' इत्यत्र 'गम्' इति प्रकृतिव्यंग्यः 'ति' इति प्रत्ययव्यंग्यः स्फोटः वर्णस्फोटरूपेण व्यवह्रियते । कति च ते स्फोटाः ? इत्याकांक्षायां (१) जातिवर्णस्फोटः, (२) वर्णव्यक्तिस्फोटः, (३) पद-जातिस्फोटः, (४) पदव्यक्तिस्फोटः, (५) वाक्यजातिस्फोटः, (६) वाक्यव्यक्तिस्फोटः, (७) अखण्डपदस्फोटः, (८) अखण्डवाक्यस्फोटः इति एते स्फोटाः परमलघुमंजूषाग्रन्थे उप-लभ्यन्ते । श्रीरामाज्ञापाण्डेयेन प्रतिपादितव्याकरणदर्शनभूमिकास्थाः षोडशस्फोटाः निबन्धविस्तारभिया नेहोपन्यस्यंते ।

मंजूषाकाराः नागेशभट्टमहाशयाः व्यंजकध्वनिगतं कत्वादिकं स्फोटेऽवभासत इति प्रतिपादयन्ति । स च ध्वनिः प्राकृतवैकृतभेदेन द्विविधः । प्रकृत्यर्थबोधनेच्छया स्वभावेन वा जातः स्फोटव्यंजकः प्रथमः प्राकृतः । तस्मात् प्राकृताज्जातो विकृति-विशिष्टश्चिरस्थायी निवर्तको द्वितीयो वैकृतिकः । भगवान् भर्तृहरिरप्याह—

स्फोटस्य ग्रहणे हेतुः प्राकृतो ध्वनिरिष्यते ।
शब्दस्योर्ध्वमभिव्यक्तेर्वृत्तिभेदे तु वैकृताः ।।

अयमाशय—शब्दस्य-स्फोटस्याभिव्यक्तेः अर्थात् प्राकृतध्वनिजन्याभिव्यक्तेः ऊर्ध्वम्-अनन्तरं वैकृताः ध्वनयः जायमानाः भवन्ति । नैतावता तैः वैकृतध्वनिभिः स्फोटात्मस्वरूपं भिद्यते । इत्थं वैयाकरणानां नये स्फोटात्मकः शब्दः नित्यः ब्रह्मरूपे-णाभिधीयते । अयमेव विषयः भगवत्या श्रुत्यापि "वाग्वै ब्रह्म" इत्यनेन वाक्येन उद्घोषितः ।।



SHORT COMMUNICATIONS

A CORRUPT READING IN THE PARIMALA SUB-COMMENTARY ON THE BHĀMATĪ

CORRECTED WITH THE HELP OF THE PURANAS

The printed text of Appayya Dīkṣita's 'Parimala'[1] commentary on Amalananda's *Kalpataru* (a commentary on the Bhāmatī) reads at III.2.3 :

मेरोर्दक्षिणतो हरिकिम्पुरुषभारताख्यानि त्रीणिवर्षाणि । उत्तरतो रम्यक-हिरण्मयोत्तरकुरुसंज्ञानि वर्षाणि । पश्चिमतः केतुमालाख्यमेकम् । पूर्वतो भद्राश्वसंज्ञकमेकम्, वसन्ति रमन्ति चैतेषु प्राणिन इति मर्यादा । पर्वतान्तरिताः प्राणिनिवास-स्थानभूता भूप्रदेशा वर्षाणि उच्यन्ते ।

We believe that the underlined portion of the passage is corrupt and it should be corrected to वसन्ति रमन्ति चैतेषु प्राणिन इति । मर्यादापर्वतान्तरिताः······ वर्षाणि उच्यन्ते । In the printed text the word *maryādā* is the last word of the sentence beginning with *vasanti* and *parvatāntaritāḥ* is the first word of the following sentence. In the proposed correction the sentence beginning with *vasanti* is understood as ending in *iti,* and *maryādā* and *parvatāntaritāḥ* are taken as forming a compound word meaning 'being separated by the *Maryādāparvatās*'. The import of the term *maryādā-parvata* will be shown below.

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1. The *Parimala, Kalpataru* and *Bhāmatī,* all edited by Pt. Anantakṛṣṇa Śāstrin, have been published by the Nirnay Sagar Press, Bombay.

Reasons for this correction are as follows:

(A) It is evident that the author of the Parimala is here giving the etymology of the word *varṣa* (from the root *vas*, to dwell, to inhabit). It is the common practice of commentators to use the word *iti* after stating an etymology, and it is reasonable to assume that in accordance with this style, *iti* was here added after *varṣa* to indicate that the etymology had been completely stated.

(B) It is difficult to understand how the word *maryādā* can, as in the printed text, be connected with the sentence giving the etymology, to which it has no relevance. The word *maryādā* may mean (1) a limit, a boundary,[2] (2) any fixed usage or established law, (3) the bonds of morality and even (4) the continuance in the right way.

Of these meanings 'established law' is the only one which would make any sense at all in this passage. The meaning would then be: 'It is the established law that sentient beings (*prāṇinaḥ*) dwell in *varṣas*. What is the justification of the expression 'established law' here?

(C) Moreover since each *varṣa* in the Jambūdvīpa has many *parvatas* of various types, it is futile

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2. Vide *Aṣṭādhyāyī* I.4.89 आङ् मर्यादावचने and II.1.13 (आङ् मर्यादाभिविध्योः) where it means a limit (*avadhi*). Maryādā is that limit which is excluded in measuring, counting or locating (.त्र अवधिः कार्येण न युज्यते सा मर्यादा, *Padamañjarī* I.4.89). A succint definition of maryādā is 'तेन विना इति'

to define a *varṣa* as 'a land (*bhūpradeśa*) separated by a *parvata*'. The type of *parvata* requires to be stated in the definition of a *varṣa.* Therefore it is justified to accept *maryādāparvata* as one word.

(D) Furthermore it is noteworthy that not a single use of *maryādā* to complete an etymology can be quoted from the hundreds of etymologies occuring in the Nirukta, in the Uṇādi sūtras and in grammatical works.

(E) Our corrected text in question is based on the *bhuvanakośa* Chapters in the Purāṇas and the *Mahābhārata* and alludes to the Purāṇic[3] description of the *varṣas,* i. e. the divisions of the *dvīpas*. Purāṇic statements[2] that the *varṣas* are separated by *maryādāparvatas* support our emendation of the text into *maryādāparvatāntaritāḥ*.

The passage in question treats of the nine *varṣas* of Jambūdvīpa. They are separated by eight *maryādāparvatas* which show their limit or boundary. That there are eight *maryādāparvatas* or *maryādāśailas* in Jambūdvīpa is frequently stated in the Purāṇas.[4] Their names are also

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3. *Devībhāgavata*-p. VIII.5.10 (मर्यादां व्यञ्जयन्ति ते) showes the character of *maryādā-parvatas*. That the maryādā-parvatas devide the varṣas is clearly stated by Śrīdhara-svāmin on Viṣṇu II.2.10 (षण्णां वर्षाणां मर्यादापर्वतानाह हिमवानिति । वर्षाणां व्यवच्छेदकाः पर्वताः) व्यवच्छेदक means one that limits a thing. This is why a maryādā-parvata (boundary mountain) is sometimes called 'varṣānta-vyañjaka' (that which shows the boundary of a varṣa).

4. *Liṅga*-p. I.49.25 ; *Mārkaṇḍeya*-p. 54.26.

given in the relevant chapters in the *bhuvanakośa* section in some of the Purāṇas[5].

(F) We observe that the etymology given in the Parimala follows the Purāṇic tradition. On Bhīṣmaparvan 6.6 (*Tatra puṇyā janapadāstāni varṣāṇi Bhārata/Vasanti teṣu sattvāni nānā-jātīni sarvaśaḥ//*). Nīlakaṇṭha remarks that the word *varṣa* is to be derived from the root *vas* (*vasanti eṣu tāni varṣāṇi iti yogāntaram āha*). That this conception of *varṣa* is an ancient one is evident from the fact that similar statements also occur in the Purāṇas (vide *Brahmāṇḍa* I.15.31 ; I.18.84 ; *Matsya* 113.27). *Vāyu* 49.125 clearly states that the word *varṣa* is to be derived from the root *vas* (*ṛṣayo nivasantyasmin prajā yasmāc caturvidhāḥ/ Tasmād varṣam iti proktam prajānāṁ sukhadam tu yat//*). *Brahmāṇḍa* I.19.129 has the same verse, the reading of the first foot being '*Viśanti nivasantyasmin*'.

The Parimala explains *vasanti* as *ramanti*. Because the Purāṇas describe a *varṣa* as pleasurable to the subjects (*prajānāṁ sukhadam*), the author of the Parimala explained *vasanti* as *ramanti* (The root *ram* though ātamanepadin, is frequently used as a parasmaipadin).

It may be noted in passing that the Purāṇas offer

5. There are variations in the names of the maryādā-parvatas. The problems of names is beyond the scope of this paper.

another etymology of *varṣa*. Commenting on the word *varṣāṇi* in *Bhīṣma* 6.5 Nīlakaṇṭha remarks: *Varṣāṇi varṣanti kāmaiḥ siñcanti pūrayantīti varṣāṇi ramyasthānāni.* The root *vṛṣ* meaning *secana* (sprinkling, pouring out, emitting) is read in the *Dhātupāṭha* (I.453).

It appears that in some of the Purāṇas the word *varṣa* is derived from the root *vṛṣ* of the curādi group meaning *śaktibandhana*[6]. *Śaktibandhana* is explained as the power of procreation or generation (*prajananasāmarthya*); Vide *Kṣīrataraṅgiṇī* on *Dhātupāṭha* 10.150 and *Mādhavīyadhātuvṛtti* 10.148. As the printed reading of the relevant verses are too corrupt to yield a clear sense it is practically useless to discuss the significance of this etymology.

RAM SHANKAR BHATTACHARYA

Varanasi

A CORRUPT READING IN THE BHĀṢYA ON BAUDHĀYANADHARMASŪTRA II.2.78

The printed reading of the sentence bearing the definition of *dainya* (poor and pitiable condition, wretched-

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6. ऋष इत्येव ऋषिणो वृषः शक्तिप्रबन्धने। रतिप्रबन्धनात् सिद्धं वर्षत्वं तेन तेषु वै ॥ (*Vāyu*-p. 49.126). ऋष इत्येव ऋषिणो वृषः शक्तिप्रबन्धने । रतिप्रबन्धनात् सिद्धं वर्षं तत् तेन तेषु वै (*Brahmāṇḍa* I.19.30). ऋषद् वसन्त्यो वर्षेषु प्रजा यत्र चतुर्विधाः । ऋषिरित्येव रमणे वर्षत्वे तेन तेषु वै ॥ (*Matsya*-p. 123.29). Until critical editions are prepared, nothing can be said definitely on these etymologies furnished by the verses whose printed readings are corrupt.

ness or depression) in the scholium by Govindasvāmin on the sūtra दैन्यं शाठ्यं जैह्म्यं च वर्जयेत् (II.2.78) is 'आत्मनः क्षीणत्वप्रदर्शनेन वाविष्णुना दैन्यम्' The expression वाविष्णुना is evidently corrupt as it yields no sense. According to us, it should be corrected as याचिष्णुता. Our arguments are as follows :—

In the aforesaid expression we cannot take वा as a particle denoting option or alternative (*vikalpa*). Had it been a particle it should have been read after the word denoting the second alternative. Even if we read the word *vā* after विष्णुना it serves no purpose, for विष्णु cannot be taken as an alternative to क्षीणत्वप्रदर्शन of one's own self. Thus it is clear that the printed reading *vā* is corrupt.

From the above consideration it follows that

(i) we are to take वाविष्णुना as one word and that

(ii) 'ना' cannot be taken as the third case-ending (singular number) used with the word विष्णु and that

(iii) the word विष्णु is a corrupt reading.

The original word in the place of the corrupt word वाविष्णुना should be such as should possess direct relation to क्षीणत्वप्रदर्शन (showing inferiority or weakness) of a person. It should also be an entity capable of being discarded along with शाठ्य (deceit) and जैह्म्य (crookedness).

We think it justified to read याचिष्णुता in the place of वाविष्णुना That this amended reading suits the context is beyond doubt. It can be easily understood that an ignorant scribe may easily write वाविष्णुता for याचिष्णुता. As we do not know the script of the Ms. used in the edi-

tion of the bhāṣya we do not want to push this point further.

There are strong grounds to hold that याचिष्णुता (the habit of habitually begging) is the original reading. The Purāṇas and the Smṛtis regard याचिष्णुता as a *tāmasa* quality (याचिष्णुता प्रमादश्च तामसं गुणलक्षणम्, Manu 12.33)—a fact which shows that it is capable of being forsaken like deceit and crookedness. In the enumerations of forsakable qualities (as found in the aforesaid literature) there is clear mention of qualities similar to the habit of habitually begging. The invariable relation beaween a distressed and miserable person and the act of habitual begging is an established fact. All these tend to prove that it is justified to take याचिष्णुता as the original reading. याचिष्णुता sometimes means the habit of soliciting favours. Even in this sense the word suits the context well.

RAM SHANKAR BHATTACHARYA
Varanasi

ON THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE ŚVETĀŚVATAROPANIṢAD BHĀṢYA

The *Śvetāśvataropaniṣad* holds a very high rank among the upaniṣads. Being a sectarian upaniṣad, it is one of the most interesting works of its kind. It belongs to the Taittirīya branch of the *Kṛṣṇayajurveda*. Śaṅkara is reputed to be the author of a commentary on this upaniṣad. But its authenticity has been called in question.[1]

1. V. Bhattācārya, 'Śaṅkara's commentaries on the upaniṣads' Sir Ashutosh Mukherjee Silver Jubilee Volume, Vol. III; Pt. II, (Cal. 1925), pp. 103ff.

The reasons advanced against Śaṅkara's authorship of this commentary, are as follows—

1. The style and mode of interpretation are far different from and inferior to those in the commentary on the *Brahma Sūtra* (*B. S.*).

2. The long extracts from Purāṇas with which this upaniṣad is filled, are never to be found in any commentary of *Ś.*, the authorship of which is beyond dispute.

3. *Ś.* would never have used the expression *"Tathā śukaśiṣyo Gauḍapādācāryaḥ"*, but would have either appended an honorific epithet like 'Bhagavāna' to his name or quoted him in some other words without mentioning his name.

As far the first objection is concerned, it can be answered that it is utterly absurd to compare both commentaries, for they present no homogeneity.

As to the second argument, it may be maintained that this text itself shows a considerable departure of sectarianism in its form, whereas other standard upaniṣads are devoid of it. It, therefore, necessitates long quotations.

In reply to the last one, it may be argued that whether these two ways are the only possible way of making reference to spiritual ancestors. R. M. Sastri has made a very pertinent observation in this regard.[2] Moreover, it is not

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2. "We see that while Vyāsa and Gauḍapāda are said to have been referred to by Śaṅkara invariably in above two ways respectively, Śuka who comes between the two, is mentioned by him in a third way (*B. S. Bhāṣya*.4.3.14). Śaṅkara quotes two

a new use for Śaṅkara. For instance, we can take Gauḍapāda, one of Śuka's disciples, who always refers to himself in the following terms—

"*Śrīparamahaṃsaparivrājakācāryaśrīmacchukamunīndraśiṣyaśrīmadgauḍapādaviracite uttaratāpanīyavivaraṇe prathamaḥ khaṇḍaḥ*'.[3]

Thus on these grounds it may be concluded that it is this autobiographic account of Gauḍapāda in terms of which a reference is made in the *Śvet. U. bhāṣya*, with the addition of the epithet 'Ācārya' after his name to show reverence, as after Bādari or Bādarāyaṇa who are older teachers than Gauḍapāda in the *B. S. bhāṣya*. This leaves nothing to suspect authenticity of this commentary.

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THE RITUAL OF THE BREATH

The Gṛhya-sūtras mention the rite of smelling the head of the son. Thus, the *Āśv. Gṛ. S.* refers to this rite and says that the householder (here the father), having returned from a journey, should smell the head of the son

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passages one in prose, and other in verse, from some smṛti, giving Śuka's bare name ; while he himself seems to be too frugal, rather quite indifferent in referring to that famous transmitter of Vedāntic lore from Vyāsa to Gauḍapāda. So much so that he himself uses for him neither any honorific epithet nor any other particular, not even his bare name as given in Smṛti text and yet makes a definite referrence to him only as if he were a stranger to him." 5th *A.I.O.C.*, 1928, pp. 691f.

3. This colophon is given in Gauḍapāda's commentary on the *Nṛsiṃhottaratāpanīyopaniṣad*.

thrice, uttering the *mantra*, "From every limb thou art produced ; out of the heart thou art born ; thou, indeed, art the self called 'son' ; so live a hundred autumns".[1] (*Āśv. Gṛ.S.* I.15.11). In the case of a daughter this rite of smelling is enjoined to be done silently.[2] As noted above, other *Gṛ.Ss.* also mention this rite.[3] The *Bhār.Gṛ.S.* and the *Āp.Gṛ.S.*, however, state that the rite could be performed with a *mantra* in the case of a daughter even ; and the *mantra* prescribed is as follows : "Thou art born from all my vital breaths ; so live a hundred autumns".[4]

The Purāṇas are replete with the references to the smelling of the head of the youngsters, especially of the son, by an elderly person. Thus, in the *Bhāg.P.* when Dhruva returns from god with various boons, his father Uttānapāda is said to have smelt the child's head with great affection (IV.9.44). In the same Purāṇa, Prahlāda is said to have been smelt at the head when he returned from his preceptor after learning his lore (VII.5.21). Nanda is said to have smelt the head of Kṛṣṇa when he learned of the latter's exploit of killing Pūtanā (Ibid. X. 6.43). Pārvatī is said to have smelt the head of Kārtikeya when the latter was consecrated as the chief of the army of gods (*Vāmana P.* I.31.57) ; and when Gaṇeśa was born,

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1. Āśv.Gṛ.S. I.15.11 प्रवासादेत्य पुत्रस्य शिरः परिगृह्य जपति। अङ्गादङ्गात्सम्भवसि हृदयादधिजायसे । आत्मा वै पुत्रनामासि स जीव शरदः शतमिति मूर्धनि त्रिरवघ्राय ।

2. Ibid. 12 आवृतैव कुमार्यै ।

3. Pār.Gṛ.S. I.18.1-6 ; Gobh.Gṛ.S. II.8.21-24 ; Khād. Gṛ.S. II.3.13.15 ; Hir.Gṛ.S. II.4.16-19 ; Mān.Gṛ.S. I.18.6 ; Kāṭh.Gṛ.S. 6.11-12.

4. Āp.Gṛ.S. VI.15.13 कुमारीमुत्तरेण यजुषाभिमन्त्रयते । Bhā.Gṛ.S. I.27 सर्वेभ्यः प्राणेभ्यो जातासि सा जीव शरदः शतमिति दुहितुः ।

Śiva smelt his head (Ibid. I.29.71). The *Skanda P.* records that, when Jāmbavatī, Kṛṣṇa's wife was about to send her son Sāmba to Hāṭakeśvara, she smelt his head (*Sk.P.* VI.213). The custom is wide and is not restricted to India ; it obtains elsewhere also.[5]

It may appear that the act of smelling the head of the son, or any youngster, is undertaken to express one's joy and affection for the latter. But the act has a deeper meaning, especially when it is prescribed as a rite. Though the Gṛhya Sūtras mention that it is to be performed at the return from a journey, the concept behind the rite has a wider meaning and scope. According to Hopkins, smelling the head is as good as kissing it.[6] According to him, Vedic seers have no word for 'kiss' ; he says that kissing is included in the meaning of smelling.[7] A. Coomarswamy traces the custom of the smelling of the head of a child to the idea of "Sun-kiss", i. e. a kiss and the impregnation from the sun.[8]

There seems no doubt that the smelling-action involves breath ; and, as such, these two are very closely connect-

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5. E. R. E., Vol. IX, p. 397a. A Mongol father smells from time to time the head of his youngest son as a mark of affection. A father in Timorlaut smells and fondles his child ; Issac smelled Esau's raiment on Jacob and compared it to the 'field which the lord hath blessed'.

6. E. W. Hopkins, "Sniff-kiss in Ancient India", JAOS, Vol. 28, p. 208ff. The Kyoungatha of the Assam frontier employs the nose for kissing ; they say, "smell me", and not, "kiss me". The Negroes sniff vigorously at the body.

7. Ibid, p. 121 ; also Śat.Br. 4.5.5.11 ; 5.1.4.15 ; Ai.Br. 1.7 ; Tāṇḍya.Br. 7.10.15. A father was to low as a cow, in "smelling" ; see Śat.Br. 2.4.1.14.

8. "The Sun-kiss", JAOS, Vol. 60, p. 46ff.

ed. A close comparison of the rituals where breathing is involved makes the point clear. Breathing upon the new-born child obtains as a rite, the idea being to impart life to the child.[9] Another important rite where breathing forms an important part is the kindling of the sacrificial fire. As soon as the fire is kindled, the sacrificer breathes upon it through his mouth with the *mantra, "prāṇam amṛte dadhe"*, and takes a normal breath with, *"amṛtam prāṇa ā dadhe"*.[10] The words in the *mantras* clearly show that breathing is imparting the life-breath. The same point is to be seen when the sacrificer is said to breathe upon the sacrificial material;[11] the idea is to make the material endowed with life, to participate in the sacrifice which is an actively living unit. The belief is that the material gets the life-breath of the sacrificer himself (Cf. the *mantra* is *'aham tvad asmi'*). Again, when the fire is being carried to the Āhavanīya fire-place from the Gārhapatya, a horse is made to stand towards the east; the Adhvaryu priest carries the pan containing fire; as he carries it, first he is to hold it below the knees, then upto the navel, then upto the neck; but it is enjoined that he is never to hold it above his breaths.[12] The exact purpose of this injunction is difficult to guess; but, the probability is that the life-principle is not to be crossed, lest the fire be without life!

Another symbol for breathing the life-breath is the utterance of the sound Hiñ. The Udgātṛ, who is Prajā-

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9. Keith, *'Rel. and Phil. of the Veda and the Up.,'* HOS, Vol. 32; p. 387.

10. *Śrauta Kośa* Vol. I-i, Poona, 1958, p. 36.

11. Ibid., p. 34.

12. Ibid., p. 39.

pati himself, 'breathes' the Hiñ sound on the sacrificer. It is said that the procreative fluid is released with the Hiñ sound, thus causing new creation endowed with the life-breath. The Udgātṛ priest has to utter Hiñ thrice over the head of the sacrificer.[13] The *Śat.Br.* clearly states that the Hiñ sound is the life-breath.[14]

The Hiñ-sound is, thus, only a symbol of the life-breath. Another aspect of this sound is the Huṃkāra, which has been fully exploited in the Purāṇic lore to indicate new birth. For that matter any type of breath is believed to be the generative principle. Thus, the sigh is said to create beings. According to an account in the *Śiva.P.* (II.8.37), when Brahmā was engrossed in thought about creation, he released a sigh. From it was produced the Spring season. Likewise, from the Huṃkāra of the cow came out a man, having the pig-tail and the sacred thread (*Sk.P.* III.2.10.4). Also from the breath of the angry Rudra came out a multitude of fevers (Ibid. I.1.3. 35). Any number of such accounts may be cited. But here is an interesting one. A king named Balāśva was once cornered by his hostile relatives. They besieged his capital also. Ultimately, not knowing what was exactly to be done, he did his face in his palms and sighed deeply. Now, from the breath that escaped his finger-slits were produced soldiers, elephants, chariots and such other things that helped him overcome his enemies (*Mārkaṇḍeya P.* 122.8-21). This account has an ordinary mortal as the

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13. Pañc.Br. VIII.7.13; VII.10.15; also Kauṣītaki Up. II.11- मा च्छिथा मा व्यथिष्ठाः शतं शरद आयुषो जीव पुत्र ते नाम्ना मूर्धानमवजिघ्रामि असौ। गवां त्वा हिङ्कारेणाभि हिङ्करोमि।

14. Śat.Br. I.4.1.1 यद्वेव हिङ्करोति। प्राणो वै हिङ्कारः। तस्मात अपिगृह्य नासिके न हिङ्कर्तुं शक्नोति।

figure-head. But, the point of the breath producing things—both animals and inanimate—is the same. The belief of the creative Breath is at the bottom of all such tales; and it is only a mythical employment of the belief, as the act of breathing on the head or the freshly kindled fire is its employment in the ritual sphere. The original idea is to breathe upon something to give it life. But by reverse action, smelling i.e. breathing-in also meant the same. When the Gṛhya-sūtras enjoin the elderly person to smell the head of the younger one, they, probably, indicate the potentiality of the breath of the elder one to be more, and this is natural. But, the original belief has nothing of the sort. It is pure and simple, the belief of the breath having the creative faculty. The custom of breathing on the head, rather than on any other part of the body presupposes the belief that the head is the best part of the body; and the idea of blessing on the head, probably, got mixed with it. But, in origin breathing appears not to be restricted to the head. One account may be of interest in this connection. According to the *Sk. P.* (II.1.1.94) when Viṣṇu brought out the earth from the bottom of the ocean, in his boar-incarnation, he placed her on his left lap and smelt her mouth. This reminds us of the Biblical account how God created man from the clay; it is said that then he breathed into his nostrils.[15] Thus, Breath has the same belief connected with it in custom and myth.

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15. God is said to have created man from clay and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; *Old Test.*, "Genesis" II.7; "Kings" 4.34ff.

REVIEWS

Review Article

UNDERSTANDING HISTORIOGRAPHY AND ITS INDIAN CONTEXT

The present paper is a review article on the book entitled *Problems of Indian Historiography* edited by Devahuti and published by D. K. Publications, Delhi. A volume of 190 pages in nice get-up, the book consists of the papers of some of the leading historians of India, including one of the then Education Minister of India, which were read and discussed in a Conference held in New Delhi under the auspecies of the Indian History and Culture Society in March 1978. In presenting this volume to the scholarly world, the Society has no doubt rendered a signal service to the cause of Indian history not because it solves, once for all, the problems of Indian historiography, but because it initiates the process of understanding those problems by bringing together, for the first time, a concrete expression of the sample thoughts of the scholars on the subject. What has so far been known as the personal views of the historians on history writing in India, besides what they thought, they understood about historiography as a subject, has, after all, been made available as data for further research.

A Cross-section of Understanding

Introducing the volume in the Preface, its Editor Devahuti expresses, at the outset, the need for a sympathetic and critical evaluations of the intellectual activity encompassed by Indian history and culture in order to avoid the dangers of inbreeding. The present work has been viewed as a product of an earnest attempt to bring about interaction not only 'among historians themselves, between them and

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other social scientists, but also between them and those who make history—the artists, literary writers and philosophers'.[1] The issue before this august concourse was to answer the need of 'Indian frameworks of reference' for the study of Indian history the essential matter of which 'is not what happened, but what people thought and said about it'.[2] Assumptive attitude towards history, including its rejection as reality, is supposed to be the basis of the individuality of the contemplated frameworks.[3] The discussion on this central issue has been planned under the following six heads:

1. The Problem of Identification
2. Conflict and Consensus
3. Ancient terms and modern connotations
4. Classification of period (Periodization) and classification of regions
5. Approaches to Indian History
6. Polity.

The problem of identification attracted two papers—one from G. C. Pande and the other from Pratap Chandra, besides the introductory remarks of the Editor in the Preface. As understood by the Editor, the problem arises from the application of alien frames of reference and the lack of historical empathy and can be solved by emphasising the unique as against the uniform features of Indian history and culture developed in response to determining factors and the process of deffusion, well within the empathic approach of an indigenous frame.[4] G. C. Pande looks upon the pro-

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1. Devahuti (ed.), *Problems of Indian Historiography*, Preface, p. X.

2. *Ibid.*

3. *Ibid.*, p. XI.

4. *Ibid.*, pp. XI-XII.

blem of cultural identity as a dynamic one and thinks that the identity of a culture lies hidden in its cultural consciousness expressed through the spiritual order of values comparable to a language which at the same time, constitutes both the vehicle of and a barrier to their transmission as values. To conquer this communication gap an empathic approach is needed and to cope with the dynamic aspect, it is necessary to understand the 'inner dialectic of the culture and its dialogue with other cultures'.[5] Pratap Chandra explains the adoption of inappropriate models and disregard for the uniqueness of the Indian situation through the psychology of a wildly charged defendant which the pioneers of modern Indian historiography suffered from. The peculiarities of the Indian psyche expressed itself by falsifying most of these charges in the course of its further historical development thereby pointing to the positive direction of native identity.[6]

Under the second head as many as five papers are listed besides the introductory remarks of the Editor in the Preface. As expounded by the Editor the problem of conflict and consensus deals with the problem of status quo or stagnation within the framework of conflict or of dissent and revolutionary change within the framework of concensus both at the individual and societal levels. A line has not been drawn between the conceptual and factual kinds of inquiry to which these frames of consensus or conflict are to be made to apply.[7] The paper of K. J. Shah discusses two abstract models called the 'comprehensive model' and the 'partial model' which he arrived at by means of the case studies of

5. G. C. Pande, "Identifying Indian Culture" in *Ibid.*, pp. 3-8.

6. Pratap Chandra, "Picturing India's Past : An Avoidable Pitfall", in *Ibid.*, pp. 9-17.

7. Devahuti, *op. cit.*, Preface, pp. XII-XIII.

Gandhi's and Ambedkar's understanding of and approach to untouchability and expresses his preference for the former both as a mode of understanding and method. He thinks that the health of a society can also be adjuged with reference to its capacity to adjust conflicting interests within the comprehensive model of its societal life. Failure to do so has been, according to him, the reason for the decline of the Hindus who placed the pursuit of *mokṣa* over those of *artha* and *kāma*.[8] In his study entitled "A Perspective of Integration", R. N. Misra analyses Indian socio-political system with a view to show that total harmony never existed and that "society kept adjusting itself to situations that arose from time to time, by offering solutions to preserve the social structure".[9] Starting from the assumption that conflict is implicit in consensus, the author of the next paper, Devahuti, shows that the Marxist approach to history attaches primacy to conflict and is hence alien to Indian situation and heritage which is capable of accomodating conflicts and even hope for the same in its consensus oriented set-up.[10] Viewing conflict and consensus in the context of Indian nationalism, Sudhir Chandra demonstrates how nationalism denoted a principle of conflict when it was opposed to imperialism and how, when opposed to the aspiration of material freedom, the same ideological nationalism turns out to be a principle of status quo and unjust consensus.[11] The two page discourse of Panchananda Misra is an attempt to show

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8. K. J. Shah, "Consensus and Conflict : Some Consideration", in *Ibid.*, pp. 21-28.

9. R. N. Misra, "A Perspective of Integration" in *Ibid.*, pp. 29-34.

10. Devahuti, "Conflict and Consensus in Indian Civilisation" in *Ibid.*, pp. 35-39.

11. Sudhir Chandra, "Conflict and Consensus in the Study of Indian Nationalism" in *Ibid.*, pp. 41-45.

that the constitution and the working of the Indian Constituent Assembly and its product the Indian Constitution were based on consensus rather than on conflict.[12]

The third section focussed on ancient terms and their modern connotations implies, as explained by the Editor, the communication gap between the ancient terms and their modern interpreters created by the barrier of time and translatability of them into a modern language and the historical distortions caused by it.[13] The section includes as many as three papers. One by Uma Chakravarti examines the meaning of the term Brāhmaṇa in the *Vinaya Piṭaka* and the early Pali texts and concludes that this term combines two mutually opposed meanings : (1) that of social category towards which Buddhism adopted a critical attitude, and (2) that of a term of value which has been frequently attributed not only to the Buddhist monks but also to the Buddha. The paper, however, discusses no historical distortion caused by a misinterpretation of the term in the Buddhist context.[14] Similarly, the next paper by V. C. Pandey discussed how five different terms occurring in some of the Indian inscriptions can be better understood if they are interpreted in the light of their usage in the *Arthaśāstra*. What major historical distortion their inappropriate meaning creates has not been pointed out.[15] The third article by Krishna Sharma shows that the standard concept of the term Bhakti as a necessarily monotheistic concept opposed to

12. Panchanand Misra, "Conflict and Consensus in the Making of India's Constitution" in *Ibid.*, pp. 47-48.

13. Devahuti, *op. cit.*, Preface, p. XIII.

14. Uma Chakravarti, "The Brāhmaṇa in Early Buddhism" in *Ibid.*, pp. 51-53.

15. V. C. Pandey, "Some Ancient Terms and their Connotations in the Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya" in *Ibid.*, pp. 55-59.

pantheistic Brahmanism, on the one hand, and the Advaitic monism, on the other, is virtually a historical distortion created by the non-generic interpretations of it by Wilson, Weber, Monier William and Grierson. Its recent most characterisation as the "concept and content of medievalism" also is a theorisation on the standard meaning. The author thinks that looked into its generic perspective the term turns out to be of general significance and is capable of co-existing with the above-mentioned categories opposed to it.[16]

The section on the problems of periodization and regional division consisting of only two short papers has been introduced by the Editor with the initial condemnation of the existing schemes of periodization and regional division in Indian history as static categories unrelated to "the nature of historical inquiry, methodological criteria, a dominant historical situation, etc." and with the concluding recommendation of discovering new schemes in accordance with these principles.[17] The paper by Rajesh Jamindar looks like a manual of saner counsels for writing good history in which the topic of periodization also figures. He objects to the correctness of the Hindu, Muslim and European as also to Ancient, Medieval and Modern divisions of Indian history and prefers to divide it either in terms of Past and Present, Early and Contemporary or according to the landmarks of political, religious or art history of India.[18] The study of Vijay Kumar Thakur shows that the periodical divisions proposed by C. V. Vaidya (Aryan, Buddhist and Hindu), V. A. Smith (Ancient India, Hindu India and Medieval

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16. Krishna Sharma, "Bhakti" in *Ibid.*, pp. 61-71.

17. Devahuti, *op. cit.*, Preface, p. XIV.

18. Rajesh Jamindar, "The Concept of Golden Age and Some General Problems" in *Ibid.*, pp. 75-78.

Hindu India) and party-line Marxists (primitive communism, Slavery, Feudalism) are either communal or dactrinaire. He thinks that transition from Ancient to Medieval is marked by the rise of feudal formation traceable in every field of life and is to be placed in the 7th century A.D.[19]

A collection of thirteen papers, the fifth section, as introduced by the Editor in the Preface, sums up the various approaches to Indian history into a number of mutually opposed epithets, viz. the imperialist and the nationalist, the communalist and the Marxist, the genealogical and the ethnic, the romantic and the cynical, etc. A plea for a scientific and indivisible approach is made with a view to bring out all the conceivable aspects of Indian history with an attitude of respect and impartiality to facts and their social and cultural significance.[20] The first paper in the series by Ashok Vohra is a rehearsal of the age-old theme of objectivity of history concluding, with help of familiar arguments, that all history is subjective.[21] The second by Devahuti is a critique of Marxist approach to Indian history insofar as it emphasises discord over harmony, conflict over consensus, universality over identity, and a single factor (economic) over the plurality of them. It advocates a multimodel approach with such an empathic immediacy as would enable one to "hear the people (of the past) speaking."[22] The third paper by B. P. Sinha takes a sympathetic view of the imperialist, nationalist and Marxist approaches to Indian

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19. V. K. Thakur, "Transformation from the Ancient to the Medieval Period" in *Ibid.*, p. 79-82.

20. Devahuti, *op. cit.*, Preface, pp. XIV-XV.

21. Ashok Vohra, "Can There be Objectivity in History" in *Ibid.*, pp. 85-88.

22. Devahuti, "Notes on Approaches to Indian History" in *Ibid.*, pp. 89-96.

history, and, praising them for their contributions, condemns them for their shortcomings. He thinks that the only scientific approach to Indian history is one attaching primacy to facts and viewing Indian history in its fullness (including the cultural aspect) and geographical details (in the form of regional histories).[23] B. N. Puri's contribution to this section sounds like a sermon of Rankean historiography so far as general history is concerned, and of Toynbean approach in the case of its universal history. All this loosely hangs to the peg of Indian history through the pious advice to write Indian history as colourlessly, truthfully and objectively as possible.[24] The paper of D. Awasthi is yet another discourse to guard against the pitfalls of chauvinism, sectarianism, communalism, casteism, provincialism and political ideology while writing Indian history which is already suffering from the background of an imperialist approach.[25] Contributions of Ajay Mitra Shastri,[26] A. R. G. Tiwari[27] and Raghavendra Vajpeyi[28] follow more or less the same pattern: referring to the defects and distortions generated by the imperialist, nationalist, communalist or Marxist bias of Indian historiography and suggesting improvements either on the lines of Rankean canons of historiography or on eclectic

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23. B. P. Sinha, "The Redundancies and Lacunae in Indian Historiography" in *Ibid.*, pp. 97-100.

24. B. N. Puri, "—The Uses and Aims of History" in *Ibid.*, pp. 101-105.

25. D. Awasthi, "Past, Prejudice and Present Challenges" in *Ibid.*, pp. 107-109.

26. Ajay Mitra Shastri, "Service and Disservice of History" in *Ibid.*, pp. 111-113.

27. A. R. G. Tiwari, "Historical Distortions—Their Reason and Remedy" in *Ibid.*, pp. 115-117.

28. Raghavendra Vajpeyi, "Problem of Framework and Methodology" in *Ibid.*, pp. 119-121.

principles. L. B. Kenny reiterates the famous dictum of Lord Acton proclaiming freedom as the end of all human endeavour and hence of history and pleads for its global perspective.[29] K. V. Soundara Rajan is preoccupied with the concern of reconstructing Indian history besides considering the role which case histories based on inscriptions (of which he gives three examples), regional studies and the basic legacy of Indian citizen (literary, cultural and ethnic) can play in the enterprise.[30] After highlighting the significance of the Purāṇas in the reconstruction of Indian history, the paper of A. B. L. Awasthi laments the "negligence of the Puranas and Puranic researches" which, he thinks. "is a sad commentary on historiographical, if not the historical sense of the scholars of Indian history".[31] The essay by Prabha Dixit is an investive on "the cultural chauvinism. parochialism and communalism of the Bengali historians". excepting, however, "the economic historian", with little attempt to acknowledge anything beyond these in their writings.[32] A rapid survey of the trends of history writing in India from the time of Kalhaṇa down to the present day, D. P. Singhal's paper presents in historical setting the rise and fall of tendencies like utilitarianism. liberalism. imperialism, nationalism, Muslim communalism. Marxism and Marxist factionalism with an assertion that Marxism is an anti-national creed and is at present, politicising the cir-

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29. L. B. Kenny, "The Interpretation of Historiography—Freedom and Global Context" in *Ibid.,* pp. 123-124.

30. K. V. Soundara Rajan, "Inscriptions and Historiography" in *Ibid.,* pp. 123-127.

31. A. B. L. Awasthi, "Puranic approach to Indian History" in *Ibid.,* pp. 129-133.

32. Prabha Dixit, "Modern India and Bengal School of History: A Critique" in *Ibid.,* pp. 135-147,

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cles of academic and professional historians with a view to abolish dissent in the field of history writing.[33]

While introducing the last section, the Editor gives no reason why polity being a branch of history should be included among the problems of Indian historiography in preference to all other aspects, e.g. economy, religion, philosophy, social organisation, etc.[34] Of the two papers included in this section, the first by P. C. Chunder describes the *Arthaśāstra* polity as deeply rooted in Indian tradition, besides being a fine synthesis of orthodoxy and rationalism, of *kāma* with *dharma* and *artha* and of ethics and politics. It is supposed to be characterised by a practical bias and a preponderance of "hedonism".[35] The second by Balram Srivastava deals with the Mauryan devices of price-control and marketing mainly on the basis of the *Arthaśāstra*.[36]

A Critical Appraisal of the Implications and the Solutions of the Problems raised

A perusal of the foregoing section shows that the notion which the term historiography carries for many of the participants ranges from a "sense" of the scholars of Indian history[37] to the methodology of reconstructing lost events, institutions and usage by a proper handling of the source material.[38] Some appear to look upon it as a discipline of writ-

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33. D. P. Singhal, "Battle for the Past" in *Ibid.*, pp. 149-166.

34. Devahuti, *op. cit.*, Preface, p. XV.

35. P. C. Chunder, "Kauṭilyan Social Ideals" in *Ibid.*, pp. 169-185.

36. Balram Srivastava, "Price Control and Marketing under the Mauryan Government" in *Ibid.*, pp. 187-190.

37. A. B. L. Awasthi, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

38. As for example the papers of Soundara Rajan, V. C. Pandey and a few others.

ing history which has been finally summed up in the canons of historiography laid down by Ranke.[39] Only a few exhibit their awareness of the demolition of Rankean formulations and the limitations of what has been suggested as their alternatives. This shows that many of the participants took historiography in its most casual sense without any serious attempt to understand its changing patterns and shifting dimensions. We leave further dicussion on the notion of historiography for the next section and propose to take up the specific issues raised in this seminar.

The understanding of the problem of identification or identity of Indian history and culture as revealed by the editorial remarks and the papers summarised above views it as arising out of three factors : (1) use of alien models, (2) lack of empathic approach and (3) blurring of the understanding and frontiers of spiritual values belonging to it. All these factors take for granted the existence and desirability of identity in Indian history and culture without even noticing the fact that there are historiographical theories which deny both.[40] Thus for the Marxist talking of the identity of Indian, or for the matter of that any culture is tantamount to national chauvinism and cummunalism and must be opposed tooth and nail, for it promotes bourgeois reaction against the march of the prolitariat towards econòmic freedom.[41] This objection presumes that identity has no real

39. For instance the contributions of B. N. Puri, Ajay Mitra Shastri and a few others.

40. A. Momigliano, "One Hundred Years After Ranke" in *Studies in Historiography,* 1966.

41. In the context of Indian Historiography the anti-nationalistic and anti-communal trend is visible in the Presidential Addresses delivered to the various Sessions of the Indian History Congress from 1960 onwards.

and natural existence and is only a camouflage of a vested interest and is hence a subject unfit for history. This leads us to the next question what does the identity of a history or culture consist of? It obviously consists of its individuality expressed through its monuments, ideals, traditions, customs and organisation. To say that nationalism and communalism are identical with the identity of a history and culture is to suggest that these expressions of individuality have no objective existence and come into life only because the presumption of nationalism and or communalism is there. It is another thing that one can make much of these traits of individuality and exploit them to support fanatic nationalism and communalism, but the possibility of their interested use does not put them out of their objective existence. To abolish historical and cultural identity on this plea alone will be walking into the footsteps of a Plato who abolished family because its norrow domestic interest was capable of being magnified to the detriment of the unity of his ideal state. Universal perspective is probably too broad and generalised to be more than a mere abstraction.[42] Living realities seldom survive without an identity of their own, and a closer abstraction of them would always stand in need of an identifiable framework.[43] Identity has further to be conceived on the planes of ideal and actuality, though they are not totally divorced from each other. The actual may fall short of the ideal and the ideal may again be swamp-

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42. Arthur Stinchombe, *Theoretical Methods in Social History*, New York, 1978, pp. 2ff.

43. Aristotle's criticism of Plato's Communism on the plea that family is a natural association with an identity of its own which, when made subservient to needs of the ideal state, will cease to be effective points to the truth of this assertion. Reduced to the needs of mere abstractions, history will cease to be history.

ed and swept away by the actual leading to the formation of the new ideals. Mere observational cognition of the identity is hardly more than being aware of its existence irrespective of its form and substance which lie hidden, as pointed out by G. C. Pande into the symbolic language of its spiritual values.[44] Like a language, a culture does not reveal its meaning to you unless you do not master the meaning of its words which are its symbolically expressed spiritual values and the grammar of its usage which is to be found in its traditions and customs. It is a fallacy, therefore, to think, as has been done by Devahuti and Pratap Chandra, that the removal of alien models coupled with an empathic approach alone would open the flood gates of the pent-up substance of identity.

It is clear from the summary of the section on conflict and consensus that all the contributors, except Sudhir Chandra, look upon the problem as the two fixed modes of understanding and integrating historical events and try to establish consensus as the characteristically Indian mode inherent in its culture while condemning the conflict model as alien and unsuitable to the Indian context. Sudhir Chandra points out that the same principle of nationalism represented conflict when it was opposed to imperialism and consensus when opposed to the demand for material freedom. This shows that instead of being fixed modes of understanding, conflict and consensus are the changing aspects of the same themes like the two sides of same coins. Devahuti's quest about the primacy of consensus or conflict is more or less like the question of the primacy of the hen or the egg. Her characterisation of the Marxist approach as conflict oriented is, in fact, based on an inadequate understanding of the

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44. G. C. Pande, *op. cit.*, pp. 7-8.

Marxist philosophy of historical progression. What Devahuti calls conflict is known as antithesis in the Marxist terminology and what she describes as consensus is the same as synthesis of the model. Antithesis and synthesis together with the thesis constitute the Marxist dialectic of historical progression[45] of which Devahuti ignored the thesis altogether. Sudhir Chandra's observations in respect of nationalism is a confirmation of the Marxist dialectic. Originating as the antithesis of imperialism, nationalism finally culminated into the synthesis of Indian constitution, which in turn became the thesis again to invite the antithesis of material freedom. Things thus get assorted when reduced to the Marxist view of historical progression, but tested by the same view, philosophy of Marxism ends up at a dogmatic presumption, when it assumes that the historical progression will come to an end with the establishment of the communistic society. The presumption that the communistic society will generate no antithesis of its own falsifies the doctrine of dialectical progression. The whole question of historical progression rests on certain presuppositions which ought to be brought out first before ronouncing any verdict or preference on this issue.

If history is not to be looked upon as a series of accidents, it has to be given a purpose, a direction, a law of motion.[46] If this is to be done on the basis of religious postulates, history becomes the unfolding of the Divine Will ; if on idealistic postulates, a march of the Absolute on earth ; if on biological postulates, an evolutionary process gradually heading towards freedom ; and if on mechanistic postulates,

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45. For a detailed critical understanding of dialectic see Engels, *Anti-Duhring*, Moscow, 1975, pp. 138-163.

46. E. H. Carr, *What is History*, Penguine ed., 1961, pp. 48-106.

a self-propelled dialectic motion towards the utopia of materialistic perfection. At the root of all this lies the anxiety to assign history an automation of its own which may be a religious automation, a philosophical automation, a biological automation, or a mechanical automation. What is so laboriously denied is the plain truth of the activities of man activising the process of history.[47] The reason of this whole exercise is the apprehension that if attributed to man, history will become an accident, a romance, a poetry and will no more remain a science. To make a science of history, elimination of man from it is necessary. The voice which inspired many of the diffusedly expressed ideas of the papers collected in this section is, in fact, the voice of revolt[48] against the very matrix of these presuppositions which seek to sweep man out of history by a tide of mere abstractions. It is, as such, comparable to the venture of

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47. "Marx treats the social movement as a process of natural history, governed by laws not only independent of human will, consciousness and intelligence, but rather on the contrary, determining that will, consciousness and intelligence ...." Afterword to the Second German Edition, *Capital,* Vol. I, Moscow, 1974, p. 27.

48. Such revolts are on their way in other countries of the world too. One such instance is Arthur Stinchombe's book, *Theoritical Methods in Social History,* New York, 1978. The reviewer of this book Theda Skocpol remarks "In these days when social analysis has just recently escaped the four-fold boxes of Parsonian structural-functionalism only to face the temptations of equally abstract all encompassing Neo-Marxism schemas, there is something undeniably refreshing about this Stinchombe's most basic thesis". *Theory and Society,* Vol. 8, No. 3, 1979, p. 417. This shows that people have grown virtually sick of these abstractions.

Protagorus who insisted on making man the measure of all things in the face of the stupid philosophical abstractions of Indian thinkers. It is true that the venture is likely to degenerate into the sophistry of the enthusiasts, but the presence of the potential capable of revolutionising our entire understanding of history in this strong note of dissent cannot be denied.

Restored to the centre of history, man becomes the motive force of it and the direction into which it is moving is no other than the direction given to it by man. But man should not be confused with the mere individual mistakenly supposed to exhaust the whole meaning of man. Individual transcends the boundaries of his finite existence through his achievements and ideals and through his predecessors and successors as also through the group which is the collective bearer of all the ideals, achievements, past and the potentials. All this constitutes the meaning of man who is no other than an extended individual. What is primary is neither consensus nor conflict, but the attitude of man understood in this sense.[49] Obviously the consciousness of such a man will be too subtle and pervasive to be seen in their deep causal analogies by the historian without the aid of the tool of the general theories, but this does not justify the substitution of man by the sheer abstractions of an "epochal interpretation", be it Marxism, Structural-functionalism or any other "master-mechanisms".[50]

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49. On the analogy of the play of chess Collingwood explains the genesis of the attitude of man as conditioned by the situations developing as the result of the series of conscious acts of others well within the framework of man-made rules of the game (action). Van Der Dussen, "Collingwoods Unpublished Manuscripts" in *History and Theory,* Vol. XVIII, No. 3, 1979, p. 303.

50. Theda Skocpol, *Theory and Society,* Vol. 8, No. 3, 1979, p. 417. The phrases have been coined by Arthur Stinchombe.

The problem of ancient Indian terms and their modern connotation is only tangentially related to historiography, otherwise it is a problem of philology and lexicography. It touches upon historiography only when the term in question is a vehicle or symbol of some spiritual or cultural value. That is why all the papers of this section, except the one on Bhakti, sound wide of mark. Needless to say that to this extent that problem is included in the topic of identity.

The problem of periodisation again is based on the hope that some day a universally acceptable scheme of periodisation may be found. But the diversity of periodisation is not so much because of the focus and facet of their study. That a subject like history has so many facets admitting of so many schemes of periodisation shows only the richness of the subject. To reduce this richness into an iron-cast uniformity would only make it look bald.

The discussions on approaches to Indian history, as summarised above, either preach the ideal of writing unprejudiced, objective or scientific history after showing how the approaches of the imperialist, national, communal and Marxist historiography have erred at one point or the other, or show how best historical informations can be gleaned from the source material besides including that already gleaned, into the existing fund of our historical knowledge. Little awareness has been shown regarding the necessity of bringing out deeper causal analogies explaining historical events by means of applying general theories like structuralism, structural-functionalism and the macro and micro-level generalisations.[51] If this indifference is a studied one, reasons for the rejection of these models should have been given

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51. *Ibid.*, pp. 418ff.

and an alternative to bring out deeper causal analogies should have been suggested. We have already shown that these models are unacceptable to us because of their objectionable presuppositions which are stealthily introduced into the historical narrative only to reduce it to a mere construct of theory besides subtly substituting the native order of values inherent into it by the "epochal" values of their own. This substitution can hardly be guarded against even if we agree to utilise these theories as mere tools as Charles Tilly wants us to do.[52] We thus face dilemma : if we apply the general theories, history either becomes a mere construct of them or is infiltrated with the modern values not belonging to it ; if we do away with them, historical events are not explained with reference to the deeper causal analogies involved into them. The solution can be got probably by eluding the two horns of the dilemma. The historians should cease talking of the models, instead they should start talking of the facets and should determine their approaches with reference to the facet of their study. If they are careful to place man in the centre of history along with the identity of the normative value-structure, and at the same time, make all the facets coexist within the same framework, the theories will be really reduced to a tool and the compulsory requirement of co-existence within the same framework will cancel out the angularites created on account of following a model, or using a tool of interpretation.

Gleaning of historical material from the sources and synthesising it with what is already known is an operation basic to history writing and is hardly a topic of historiographical discussion. Historiography deals with the interpre-

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52. Charles Tilly, "Sociology, Meet History" p. 35 an unpublished paper cited by Skocpol, *op. cit.*

tation of historical events rather than with the piecing together the past.[53]

Similarly, the section on polity can hardly be justified as a problem of historiography. What has, moreover, been discussed in the papers submitted in this section is not the problem of interpreting ancient Indian polity, but authors' own views of the aspects dealt with.

The notion of historiography

At least from the late 18th century onwards, historiography has acquired "interpretation of human life as a whole" as its subject-matter and has moved to the centre of our civilisation both at the national and international levels.[54] This happened following the triumph of history

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53. Collingwood distinguishes between "empirical" and "pure" methodology (of history). The first he calls "archaeology". The archaeological sciences are abstract and classificatory and a *sine quanon* of critical history. "They are not themselves history", Collingwood says, "they are only methods of dealing with the sources of history; but without them history cannot be put beyond the dogmatic or nursery stage. They form, as it were, the bone of all historical thinking. History itself must be flexible, but it must have rigid bones, unless it is to loose all power of independent locomotion and become a parasite". Pure methodology Collingwood equates here with philosophy of history; "a science dealing with the universal and necessary characteristic of all historical thinking whatever and differentiating history from other forms of thought". Bodlian Library Manuscripts 1928, pp. 56-58, as cited and paraphrased by Van Der Dussen, op. cit., p. 302.

54. "Historiography and Historical Methodology" in *Encyclopaedia Britanica*, Vol. 8, p. 945.

as an antithesis of religion during the Renaissance.[55] Its recognition as a tool replacing religion as interpretation of human life paved the way for the idea of the substitution of philosophy by it as an interpretation of human life. Philosophy of history was, therefore, proclaimed as philosophy par excellence and was calculated to put all other philosophies under shadow.[56] But soon it came to grips with the scientific interpretation of life and tumbled.[57] Can there be a science of history like philosophy of history ? or Should there be only a scientific history ? The high-priest of scientific history is Ranke and for long he kept the people in agreement with his theories of a scientific history. But soon the balance was tilted in favour of the protagonists of the science of history.[58] What is after all science of history ? Obviously science as inferred from history : sociology consisting of conceptualised history and general theories formulating nearly inexorable laws of human behaviour at the individual, group, national, universal behavioural and intellectual levels.

55. Petrarch (1304-74), for example, blasted the myth of the Charter of Julius Caeser which the Austrian Archduke masqueraded as a historical document the authenticity of which was till then a matter of faith, almost religious. Valla similarly proved the Donation of Constantine to be a Medieval forgery and thereby demonstrated the hollowness of the main basis of Popes' claims to secular authority. The age-old faith that the Bible contained the actual words of Christ was shaken by Valla's historico-philological arguments. *Encylopaedia Britanica*, Vol. 8, pp. 951f.

56. This happened in the 19th Century and is visible in the theories of Hegel and other such philosophers of history.

57. Trever Roper, *History Professional and Lay*, 1958, p. 10. J. N. Sarkar, Proceedings of Indian History Congress, XXVII Session, Presidential Address, pp. 10ff.

58. A. Momigliano, *op. cit.*

Before the infiltration of history by reason (as an antithesis of religion), philosophy or science, it was not an important subject, though it was pressed into the service of religion by the Christians and of politics by the Greeco-Roman tradition. As early as the time of Herodotus and Aristotle, history was distinguished from the study of "antiquities", as Varro subsequently called it. Aristotle condemned history as less valuable than poetry because he thought it to be less philosophical than the latter. Historiography is thus not the same as the study of the antiquities,[59] it is, in turn, an interpretation of such a study with some end in view. The end with which Herodotus began it was the political end of glorifying the achievements of the Hellas on the basis of what actually happened in their wars against the Persians. Christians utilised history to record the triumph of Christianity as the favoured religion embodying the Will of God. Renaissance historians wanted to show history as the corolary of reason conquering triumphantly the citadel of medieval Christianity—an embodiment of faith. Since the advent of the 19th century or a little earlier, historical explanation came to be the explanation of human life as a whole and since then started the attempt to fashion a philosophy or science of history as noted above.[60] History thus ceased to become a means to an end and has come to be an end in itself. At this final stage of development, history becomes either a bundle of philosophical abstractions or of scientific presuppositions as shown earlier. Human being is reduced to a historically manifest philosophical or scientific phenomenon. He is no more than an automation with no identity of his own. The question of national history and culture does not arise. Philosophical or scientific re-

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59. *Encyclopaedia Britanica,* Vol. 8, pp. 945-947.
60. *Ibid.*, pp. 945-965.

quirements which are of the nature of modern presumptions are masqueraded as inexorable laws of history which govern human actions and institutions in an absolute manner. Instead of being a record of human past, history stands negated as a system of laws, logical or scientific. Banishment of man from history is almost complete. This anti-climax of the romantic and accidental view of history represents an equally far-fetched extreme and calls for a process of rethinking which has already started. It is refreshing to find an expression of the same in the context of Indian historiography in the form of the present book, though many of the papers collected in it are not alive to the deeper dimensions of the historiographical problems they are collectively invoking in the act of raising their standard of revolt. The value of the book lies in being a protest against that notion of historiography which is for the increasing de-humanisation of history as a consequence of its greater and greater abstraction and conceptualisation.

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THE RITUAL OF FOUNDING A BHAHMIN VILLAGE by G. C. Tripathi, G.D.K. Publications, Delhi, 1981, price Rs. 25/- pp. 81 + IX.

In early and medieaval India the establishment of a Brahmin village by a king was a political expediency for recognition of status, a religious duty for happiness in this world and salvation in the other world, a socio-economic exercise for the creation of a self-contained, self-sufficient local village society and economy and most importantly a cultural process for the Brahmanization or Sanskritization of the outlying and tribal areas. Many inscriptions refer to such establishments and Sanskrit treatises on architecture also mention such varieties of villages. It is a tragedy that such an important subject has not been given due attention so far as the ritual aspect of this activity is concerned. No doubt, the study of the processes and contents of the founding of a Brahmin village as enshrined in its ritual may throw unforeseen light on the actual building of a village society and local economy and ultimately give us a glimpse into a model Brahmin village as an instrument of cultural change.

Some scholars like Niyogi (*Brahmanic Settlement Subdivisions of Ancient Bengal*, Calcutta, 1967), Kulke, (*Cidambaramāhātmya*, Wiesbaden, 1970), Pfeffer (*Puris Sasandörfer : Basis einer regionalen Elite*, University of Heidelberg, 1976) and others have studied historical and social aspect of such settlements but the ritual aspect for the

establishment of a Brahmin village has been brought forth for the first time by Dr. G. C. Tripathi in his present treatise on the basis of a small rare palmleaf manuscript—*Śāsana-karaṇam* found from the private library of the former Raja of Keonjhar state in Orissa.

The exposition of the ritual of founding a Brahmin village by Dr. Tripathi has been attempted through an Introduction (pp. 1—7), General Instructions (pp. 8—11), The Ritual (pp. 13—24), Extensive Notes (pp. 25—54), Sanskrit Test of the *Śāsanakaraṇam* (pp. 55—76) and lastly Index (pp. 77—81). In the Introduction the learned scholar refers to Manu's instruction that the Brāhmaṇas of Brahmarṣideśa are to be emulated for the code of conduct by other peoples and then shows as to how Kānyakubja (Kannauj in U.P.) developed as a centre of Brahmanical culture in early India from where many Brāhmaṇas migrated to other outlying provinces either scared by the foreign invasions or at the invitations of kings of provinces outside the pale of Aryan culture. The construction of the Jagannātha temple at Puri (Orissa) in the 13th century required the help of many priests for the elaborate ritual of the temple. Moreover, the kings of fragmented sovereignty in Orissa in this period needed the help of the Brāhmaṇas for ritual recognition of their insecure sovereignty. There are many *Śāsana*-villages around Puri in medieaval India as is revealed by the *Mādalā Pañji*—the Oriya chronicle of the Jagannātha temple. Such practice of founding Brahmin villages in Orissa continued upto the 18th century and even later. The general layout of the village and the ritual ceremonies for such establishments form the scope of the exposition. Thereafter, the scholar informs us about the source—the *Śāsanakaraṇam* which is in Oriya script and has 7 folios of palmleaf on both sides. It is an anonymous work, a sort of compendium for ritual purposes of a priest.

The first part (upto the Folio 3b) is concerned with general instructions for the establishment of the village, places for different castes, erection of temples while the second half (upto the end) tells us the details of the ritual. The date has been fixed on the basis of internal evidence as 18th century.

The subject-matter has been dealt with care and clarity on the basis of the manuscript under two heads—the general instructions and the ritual. The general instructions include the levelling of the site, determining the size of the village, the invitation to the Brāhmaṇas and scholars of all *jātis* with children, donation of measured land to each, the construction of the village into four quarters with slope towards the east, building of houses according to *Varṇāṣṭaka*, settlement of *Śūdras* in the outer circle, the *Vaiśyas* in the West or the South, potters in the East or the West, butchers in the West and fishers in the North–West, the oil-grinders in the southern and florists in the northern direction of the outer circle, masons in the South–East and weavers in the South–West, agricultural labour in the East or the West. The central portion is reserved for the Brāhmaṇas. A watter-tank should be in all four quarters. The cremation ground should be 3 kms. away from the village. Then there are instructions for the building of temples of deities as per canon. All temples should look to the East except the Sun-temple which looks to the West. The temples of Mother-goddesses should be built outside the village. Dr. Tripathi has expounded these general instructions with the help of extensive critical notes in an analytical and comparative way. There may be some points of difference in interpretation of certain terms such as *Karmakāra* for agricultural (?) labour which may be interpreted as artisans because in Sanskrit dictionaries two different terms have been given *Karmakara* and *Karmakāra* and have been interpreted as

agricultural labour and artisans respectively.[1] However, these references to different *jātis* and economic groups virtually attached to the village show the self-sufficient nature of closed local economy of *Śāsana* villages in this period and may shed some more light on the question of Indian feudalism.[2] It would have been interesting if some analysis of this aspect should have also been attempted along with other discussions done through the extensive notes.

Thereafter, the scholar has taken up exposition of three ceremonies—*Bhūparigrahṇam, Bhūmiśodhana* and *Sagarbhākaraṇam,* also called *Grāmārghyadānam*, again with the help of extensive explanatory and critical notes. After preliminaries, there are obligatory rites such as the worship of Varuṇa, mothers, etc., before the main ceremony which consists of propitiation of the beings, *balidānam*, prayer to the Nāgas and the Lokapālas, occupation of the site (all these go to make *Bhūmiparigrahaṇa*); *Vāstupūjā*, and a description of the Vāstumaṇḍala along with a chart of the *maṇḍala*), the rite of ploughing the land, (which go to make *Bhūmiśuddhi*) and lastly *grāmārghyavidhi* which includes such ceremonies as the location of the *Yāgamaṇḍapa*, the entrance of the *Yajamāna* into the *Yāgamaṇḍapa*, the invoking of the eight dikpālas, offerings of *māṣaudana*, worship of the Nāgas with five *upacāras*, *śilānyāsa*, water oblations.

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1. I am grateful to Prof. B. N. S. Yadava of my department for drawing my attention to this reference and discussing many other points. I am thankful to Dr. Om Prakash of my department also for discussing the concept of Brahmanization as against Sanskritization and other aspects of the work.

2. See A. Appadorai, *Economic Conditions in South India*, Vol. I, p. 273 and B. N. S. Yadava, *Society and Culture in Northern India*, Allahabad, 1973, p. 179.

and lastly *pūrṇāhuti*. The ceremonies reveal to us that besides Vedic and Purāṇic sources, they have been inspired by folk tradition of Orissa also. Needless to remind that the last source—the folk tradition has generally been side-tracked in the studies of Indian rituals so far. Dr. Tripathi's attempt to highlight this point for serious study in future will go a long way in a proper setting of Indian religions against the background of different traditions, including the tribal and folkloristic. Lastly, the Sanskrit text of the work has been given after due corrections and emendations with remarks on the reasons for doing so.

The present work largely justifies Tripathi's contention (p. VII) that a study of rituals will add new dimensions to Indology. In the field of religion it underscores the tribal and folk element in the prescribed ritual performance generally associated with the Vedic and Purāṇic tradition. It also highlights the functioning of local village economy besides bringing to light the actual process of Brahmanization and thereby social and cultural change in outlying provinces in early and medieaval India. It may serve as a model for future research in the study of rituals as means of social cohesion, economic development and cultural change.

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JĪVANMUKTIVIVEKA OF VIDYĀRAṆYA Sanskrit Text edited with English Translation by Pandit S. Subrahmanya Sastri and T. R. Srinivasa Ayyangar, Published by the Adyar Library and Research Centre, Madras, 1978, pp. XXIV + 497.

The present book is a revised edition. Its original which was first published in 1935 was out of print for long. So its revised edition is most welcome inasmuch as it is a work of perennial worth.

It has first in English Introduction of ten pages wherein a short life-sketch of Vidyāraṇya Svāmī, (14th. century) the author of the *Jīvanmukti Viveka* is given along with the abstract of the whole work. Then it contains the five Prakaraṇas (chapters) of the Sanskrit Text in Devanāgarī Script. The Text is critically edited and beautifully printed. All the quotations are properly referred to their original works. The Text is followed by English Translation in 257 pages, almost one and a half size of the original text coverage. This shows that the translation is explanatory rather than rigidly literal. Such translations are, as a matter of fact, a sort of commentaries which expound the thoughts of the original. The translators have done their job successfully.

Finally at the end there is a glossary of technical terms, an index of quotations in Sanskrit and an index to English Translation. What is wanting is the Index of Names which would have added to the already rich value of the work.

The Jīvanmuktiviveka is a standard work on the subject "liberation in life". It has, heavily, drawn on the Upaniṣads and *Yogavāsiṣṭha*. The author is fully aware of the *Laghuyogavāsiṣṭha,* the synoptic edition of the *Yoga-*

vāsiṣṭha. The nature, the purpose, the process and the proofs or testimonies of Jīvanmukti, liberation in life, are described in a masterly manner. The ideal of man is liberation from bondage, ignorance and evil. It should be achieved here and now. The sooner, the better. There is no ideal higher or better than it. If it is not realized here, the human existence is wasted. If it is, on the other hand, realized, the human existence is crowned with full success, *Iha ced avedīt, atha satyam asit/Na ced avedīt mahatī Vinaṣṭiḥ*.

National liberation in the sense of political and economic freedom is not the end-in-itself. That is just a means. which was not recognized by ancient Vedāntins but which must now be recognized by all, Vedāntins or non-Vedāntins. The only end-in-itself is the spiritual liberation in this very life. That is the goal of all humanism. Moreover, the value of the present work is enhanced by the fact that its author, Svāmī Vidyāraṇya had worked for the national liberation and integration before he worked for spiritual liberation. For him spiritual liberation is total liberation, or at least, inclusive of national liberation. In modern times Advaitins like Swami Vivekananda have also advocated the same view. So the present publication is highly relevant to its contemporary situation. The Ideal of the accomplishment of Svarājya or self-rule has a *double entendre*. It has both an individual and a social connotation. That is why Jīvanmukti has been called Svarājya-siddhi by Gaṅgādharendra Sarasvatī (18th century).

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THE HINDU CONCEPTION OF THE DEITY by Bharatan Kumarappa, Reprinted in 1979 by Inter-India Publications, Delhi, pp. XII + 256, price Rs. 80/-.

The present book was first published in 1933 as the Forword by Dr. L. D. Barnett indicates. But it had not been available for long and hence its reprint is welcome.

Originally it was a Ph.D. thesis accepted by the University of London in 1930 under the title 'Rāmānuja's conception of the Deity'. Dr. Kumarappa altered the original title to its present form and I think the alteration is justified, because Rāmānuja's conception of the Deity has, by and large, informed the idea of God that is found in every school of Hinduism.

The importance of the book at the time of its first publication was, however, certainly greater than what is now, inasmuch as little was then written in English on the Philosophy of Ācārya Rāmānuja (1017–1137 A.D.). But much work has been done since then on Vaiṣṇva Philosophy in general and on Rāmānuja's Philosophy in particular. So the present reprint may not receive the same acclaim and appraisal from the academic community as its original publication did. At any rate, it has all the disadvantages of a thesis as it has, undoubtedly, its advantages. Its major drawback for the present state of philosophical development is the lack of conceptual analysis and over-emphasis on the historical development of the concept of God. The first part of the book is purely historical and traces the development of the idea of God from the Upaniṣadic age to Yāmunācārya who died in 1040 A.D. The chapter from the Alvars to Rāmānuja deserves special commendation. Dr. Kumarappa's discovery that the theory of incarnation originally

performed the function of relating the Deity to the primitive worship of an earlier day, or to contemporary worship among some classes of the people "(p. 112) and that the function which the theory of incarnation performs seems accordingly—to bring the supreme one of the philosophers into living and loving touch of the normal and religious life of his devotees." (p. 113) deserves special notice. The theory of incarnation is a part and parcel of the religious consciousness that is bound up with Hinduism.

The second part deals with the metaphysics of Rāmānuja. Dr. Kumarappa explores here the nature of God and explains the relationship that God has with the world and the individual. He is faithfull to Rāmānuja and so he is as critical of Advaita Philosophy as Rāmānuja was. Little he attempts to examine the views (i) that even the followers of Advaita Philosophy are theists. (ii) that there can be a synthesis of Advaita and Viśiṣṭādvaita views of God and (iii) that the majority of Hindus believe in the Advaita views of the Deity. Anyway, the reconstruction of Hindu thought in the post-Independence period needs an integral, rather than polemical, approach to various sects. Although the present book does not openly aim at this approach, it is not difficult to find it there. The common scriptual heritage, the belief in the one supreme God, the theory of incarnation and the way of Bhakti that are described by Kumarappa are the cementing bonds of all sects of Hinduism. But all said, what diminishes the value of the reprint is the number of errors which could have been avoided had the publishers cared to get the original publication corrected by some expert before reprinting it. Two errors can be mentioned to illustrate the point. First, *Mārjāra Nyāya* is printed as *Nārjāra* Nyāya on pp. 310 and 338. Secondly, on p. 110 it is written that the two attributes which appertain to Aniruddha are '*Vīrya* and *tejas*'. But there should have

been *'Śakti'* in place of *Vīrya* (Vide the *Tattvatraya* of Lokācārya, 103). The first mistake, though glaring, is a printing one and the second, though subtle, shows the author's confusion. The recurrence of such mistakes in the reprint indicates that these days reprints are brought out solely for commercial gains. So the academic community should devise some ways and means to exercise a check upon this motivation.

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AMARAKOŚA, Part I containing the first two kāṇḍas with the commentaries *AMARAPADAVIVṚTI* of liṅgayasūrin and *AMARAPADAPĀRIJĀTA* of Mallinātha, pub. 1971, Pp. LXXIV + 648 ; Part II containing the third kāṇḍa with the above-mentioned two commentaries and with a third commentary *AMARAPADAVIVARAṆA* of Appayārya, pub. 1978, Pp. XXVII + 762 ; both parts ed. by Prof. A. A. Ramanathan, The Adyar Library And Research Centre, Adyar, Madras 600020, India ; price not mentioned.

The *Nāmaliṅgānuśāsana* of Amarasiṃha, popularly known as *Amarakośa*, is the earliest extant metrical lexicon of Sanskrit. It enjoys the same dominant position in Sanskrit lexicography as the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini in Sanskrit grammar. Through the centuries, it has formed an essential part of the curriculum of Sanskrit students. The popular adage अष्टाध्यायी जगन्माता अमरकोशो जगत्पिता speaks volumes about its popularity. Little wonder that a large number of commentaries of various merits were written on this kośa in every part of India, of which many have already been published, but many more still remain confined to manuscripts in the various Oriental Libraries.

The Adyar Library and Research Centre has recently brought out three South Indian commentaries on the *Amarakośa* in two parts and a third part containing various indices is promised. The first part, containing the first two Kāṇḍas of the kośa, is published with the commentaries the *Amarapadavivṛti* of Liṅgayasūrin, also known as Liṅgādehaṭṭa and the *Amarapadapārijāta* of Mallinātha. The second part, comprising the third kāṇḍa of the kośa, besides continuing the above-mentioned two commentaries, adds a

third one named *Amarapadavivaraṇa* of Bommagaṇṭi Appayārya.

The *Amarapadavivṛti* of Liṅgayasūrin, also sometimes referred to as *Liṅgābhaṭṭīya,* has been very popular in South India. Liṅgayasūrin or Liṅgābhaṭṭa has given the name of his father as Vaṅgala Kāmaya Bhaṭṭa in the colophon. He seems to have belonged to the Āndhradeśa, as is evidenced by the fact that he gives Telugu equivalents of words in the वनौषधिवर्ग . Prof. Ramanathan has fixed the lower limit of his date at A.D. 1150 (vide Intro. p. XXIX).

Though the commentary of Liṅgayasūrin is concise, it has its own merits which compare favourably with older commentaries, like that of Kṣīrasvāmin etc., lucidity of style, clearness and fullness of explanations are its specialities. Liṅgayasūrin does not discuss the full grammatical formation of every word, which is a speciality of the later commentator Bhanuji Dixit. Sūrin simply mentions the root from which the word is derived. But the explanation of the meaning of the word receives his full attention and by his clear explanation he brings home to the student the full significance of the word; for example, he explains नवनीतम् as 'नवं तत्कालदध्नो मन्थनानन्तरं नीतं नवनीतम्' or पृथुक- as 'सार्द्रान् व्रीहीन् भृष्टान् कृत्वा उलूखले मुसलेन कुट्टयित्वा भक्ष्यत्वेन कल्पितानां नामनी'. Wherever necessary, Sūrin points out the shades of meanings of a word by apt illustrations. Normally, Sūrin does not quote from reputed works, but the अव्यय वर्ग is an exception to it. Here he quotes from no less than 117 works to illustrate the various usages of the अव्यय s. In the नानार्थवर्ग also he adds many more meanings to those given by Amara and if the feminine form of a word bears some special meaning, Sūrin does not fail to point it out in his comment. Sūrin has also noted the देश्य origin of many words, particularly in the वनौषधिवर्ग. One more im-

portant contribution of Liṅgayasūrin is the mention of the variant readings in the text of Amara, out of which, he often indicates his own choice of the correct reading.

The *Amarapadapārijāta* of Mallinātha is another valuable addition to our knowledge. This Mallinātha is different from his reputed namesake, the commentator of the *pañcamahākāvyas*. From the colophon of the commentary we gather that this Mallinātha was the son of Nṛsiṃhasūrin of the Śrīvatsagotra. As Mallinātha gives Telugu equivalents in all the three kinds, he doubtlessly seems to belong to the Āndhradeśa. Prof. Ramanathan fixes the lower limit of his date in the beginning of the 14th century A.D. (vide Intro. p. XLVII).

Like the commentary of Liṅgayasūrin, the comment of Mallinātha is also brief. He explains the grammatical formation of only those words which were left unexplained by his predecessors, but his explanations are always full and besides the Pāṇinian School, he also takes help from other schools of Sanskrit Grammar, like Śākaṭāyana, Kātantra etc. The greatest contribution of Mallinātha's commentary, however, lies in the numerous additions to the words mentioned by Amara. At many places Mallinātha supplies rarely used or obsolete words also and illustrates their use with quotations from authoritative works. Mallinātha's commentary abounds in quotations from works of repute. He quotes from no less than 198 works of various Śāstras. Like Liṅgayasūrin, he also mentions variant readings in the text of Amara and derives support for the readings from authoritative works. He is very particular about the variants of words having a sibilant and here he very often quotes examples of श्लेष and यमक to support the variant readings. Mallinātha often supplies a wealth of details about many things e.g. the varieties and different natures of deers,

of ants, of many articles of food like अपूप, कृशर, संयाव etc. In explaining Amara's आस्कन्दितं धौरितकं रेचितं वल्गितं प्लुतम् Mallinātha presents a graphic description of the movements of a horse—'कोपात् सर्वपदैरुत्प्लुत्योपप्लुत्य गमनमास्कन्दितम्। कङ्कशिखिक्रोडनकुलगतैः सदृशं धौरितकम्। पद्‌भिर्वल्गनं वल्गितं अवक्रद्रुता गतिस्तु रेचितम्। पक्षिमृगसाम्येन लङ्घनं प्लुतम्।' such graphic descriptions are a speciality of Mallinātha. Wherever he feels that the student may have some confusion in ascertaining the प्रातिपदिक or its gender or declension, he points out these in clear terms with apt illustrations. Thus he gives the declensions of words like तितउ, सध्र्यञ्च्, तिर्यञ्च् काष्ठतक्ष् etc. The style of Mallinātha is marked by lucidity and as an easy flow. Sometimes he makes his explanations lively by quoting प्रहेलिका s etc. as illustrations.

But the most elaborate of the three commentaries and one of the best known so far is the *Amarapadavivaraṇa* of Bommagaṇṭi Appayārya, who also hailed from the Āndhradeśa and enjoyed the patronage of King Siṃhabhūpāla, in the latter half of the 14th century. As an illustration of the relative merits of the three commentaries, we may cite here the comments on the word प्रवीण—. While Liṅgayasūrin simply paraphrases the word as "प्रकृष्टा वीणास्यास्तीति प्रवीणः" and Mallinātha besides commenting that "प्रवीणे....कुशल इत्यादि। कार्यज्ञनामानि" further supplements "अनुक्तम्––चतुरः कृतहस्तश्च कृतकर्मा नदीष्णवत्। एतानि चत्वारि च।", Appayārya offers an elaborate and clear explanation as following :

"प्रवीणादयो दश लौकिके वैदिके वा कृतबुद्धेर्नामानि। प्रकृष्टा वीणास्येति योगवशात् प्रवीणशब्दो यद्यपि वीणावादनशीले वर्तितुमर्हति तथापि 'रूढिर्योगमपहरति' इति न्यायात् 'उद्‌गातृ' शब्दो यथा छन्दोगे महर्त्विजि वर्तते, न तु यस्मिन् कस्मिश्चिद् उच्चैर्गातरि, तथा बुद्धिवैशद्यसाधर्म्यात् प्रवीणशब्दोऽपि निपुणपर्यायत्वेनानुशिष्ट इत्यवधेयम्। तदुक्तम्––

निरूढलक्षणाः काश्चित् सामर्थ्यादभिधानवत्।
क्रियन्तेऽद्यतनैः काश्चित् काश्चिन्नैव त्वशक्तितः॥"

Such elaborate, lucid and erudite explanations pervade the commentary of Appayārya throughout.

Appayārya informs us in the concluding verses to his comment that he had written commentaries on the *Śabarabhāṣya, Mahābhāṣya* (of Patañjali), *Nyāya* and *Vaiśeṣika.* Appayārya's intimate knowledge of the Vedic lore, Grammar, Poetics, the Epics and the Purāṇas, Kāvya literature and scientific literature on Astronomy, Mathematics etc., is fully borne out by his commentary and this has imparted great erudition and charm to his comment. According to the editor Prof. A. A. Ramanathan, Appayārya's Comment contains 1925 citations ranging right from the *Ṛgveda* down to his own contemporary poets. This in itself is an eloquent testimony of the great learning of the commentator.

Appayārya has dealt with the derivation of words in detail, quoting appropriate Sūtras of Pāṇini and also other authorities on debatable points. He has not only elucidated the meanings of words by quoting apt illustrations from various authoritative sources, but have also supplemented Amarasiṃha by pointing out other subtle shades of meanings wherever necessary. The अव्ययवर्ग has particularly been elaborated by Appayārya by pointing out many more usages of the अव्ययs not mentioned in *Amarakośa.* His explanations bristle with citations of idiomatic expressions of Sanskrit, which make his commentary a pleasant reading. The style of Appayārya's Comment is lucid and simple.

Appayārya's Commentary is a very valuable addition to the lexicographical literature of Sanskrit. The editor of the work, Prof. A. A. Ramanathan has added elaborate introductions to both the parts, dealing with the personal details of the commentators and assessing the merits of their

commentaries. Both the parts are well-edited and beautifully printed. The authorities of the Adyar Library and Research Centre and the Editor of Prof. A. A. Ramanathan have certainly earned the gratitude of the Sanskrit world by publishing and editing the three South Indian commentaries, particularly the excellent commentary of Bommagaṇṭi Appayārya.

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भावाञ्जलिः — (काव्य-संग्रह) —कवयित्री—डॉ० नलिनी शुक्ला 'व्यथिता,' प्रकाशकः—शक्तियोगाश्रम, नानारावघाट, छावनी, कानपुरम्, पृष्ठानि १९८, मूल्यम् द्वाविंशतिरूप्यकाणि ।

भावाञ्जलिनामायं काव्यसंग्रहः व्यथिताऽपराभिधया डॉ० नलिनी शुक्लाख्यया कवयित्र्या रचितानां भक्तिरसभरितानां स्तोत्रपद्यानां सुललितः संग्रहोऽस्ति । १९८ (अष्टनवत्युत्तरशत) पृष्ठात्मकोऽयं ग्रन्थः चतुर्षु भागेषु विभक्तः । तत्र प्रथमे भागे प्राक्कथन-आमुख-शुभाशीराशिः-सम्मतिः-आशीराशिः शीर्षकेषु बटुकनाथशास्त्री खिस्ते-बाबूरामपाण्डेय-करपात्री स्वामी-मुंशीराम शर्मा सोम-आचार्य केशवमहोदयानां संग्रह-विषये अष्टाविंशति पृष्ठेषु सम्मतयो निबद्धाः सन्ति, विनम्रनिवेदनं च ततः कवयित्र्या कृतमस्ति । द्वितीये भागे भारती चतुःश्लोकी-जगदीश्वराय भावमाल्यार्पणम् नटवरध्यानं वाणीपञ्चदशी-गणपति-चिन्तनम् कृष्णकेलिगीतम्-व्रजकिशोरस्तवः शारदायाचनम् चरणचिन्तनम् करुणायाचनम् श्लोकत्रयी-गोपीकृष्णलीला राधानुनयः विषयमन्थनम् दीनबन्धुस्तवः व्यथामन्थनम्-पदाब्जमुक्तायाचनं अम्बावन्दना देवीदेवनम् दुर्गास्तवः मानसोपचार-पूजनम् शीर्षकेषु सप्तदशोत्तरैकशतसंख्यानि स्तोत्रपद्यानि संकलितानि । एषु प्रायशः सर्वेष्वपि पद्येषु प्रसादमाधुर्ययोः संयोगेन भक्तिभावस्य परिपाकः सहृदयानां चेतो बलादिव बध्नाति । भक्तानां मानसं रसाप्लुतमिव भवति । परममीषां प्रकाशने सम्पादने मुख्यतः तेषां क्रमनिर्धारणे उपेक्षा रसास्वादनप्रसङ्गे विघ्नायते । तद्यथा भारती चतुःश्लोकी वाणीपञ्चदशी शारदायाचनम् करुणायाचनम् श्लोकत्रयीशीर्षकेषु निबद्धानि सर्वाण्यपि पद्यानि सरस्वत्या स्तुतिरूपाणि, एकत्रैव संकलनमपेक्षन्ते । चरणचिन्तनम् शीर्षकेषु पद्येषु अम्बास्तुतिः कृतास्ति अमीषां संकलनं अम्बावन्दना-देवीदेवनम् शीर्षकयोर्मध्ये विशिष्य शोभाकरं भवितुमर्हति । कृष्णभक्तिभरितानि च पद्यान्यप्येकत्रैव संकलनीयतामर्हन्ति । एवमन्यत्रापि क्रमयोजना काव्यसंग्रहमिमं शोभाम् आवहेत् ।

संग्रहस्यास्य तृतीये खण्डे सर्वेषामपि पद्यानां कवयित्र्या स्वयं कृता व्याख्या श्लोकैः सह मुद्रिताऽस्ति । मूलपद्येषु यादृशं लालित्यं दरीदृश्यते व्याख्यायां तादृशं लालित्यं कुत्रापि नास्ति । भावाभिव्यक्तये व्याख्येयं न तथा प्रभवति यथा पदपर्यायप्रदर्शने । अनेकत्र पर्यायप्रदानलालसया सुविदितानां पदानां कृतेऽल्पतया प्रयुक्तानां कठिनानां वा पदानामुपस्थानं मनो व्यथयति तद्यथा 'भवेच्छ्रद्धा हार्दम्' [पृ० ७६] इत्यादि पद्यव्याख्याने सुप्रसिद्धस्य 'चन्दन' पदस्यार्थः 'मलयज' पदेन प्रदत्तः । 'त्रिलोके' [पृ० ८५] इत्यादि पद्ये 'प्राणेषु' पदस्य पर्यायत्वेन 'असुषु' पदस्य प्रयोगः, 'तिरस्कुर्वाणेन्दून्' [पृ० ९१] पद्ये मधुभिः

पदस्य पर्यायतया मकरन्दैः पदस्य प्रयोगः निदर्शनतया द्रष्टव्याः। व्याख्यया सह अन्वय-कोश-छन्दोऽलङ्काराणां च निर्देशः परीक्षोपयोगिनी व्याख्या इव निबद्धा ग्रन्थकलेवरं प्रथयितुं प्रभवति न भावाभिव्यक्तये। व्याख्यायां रसोन्मीलनाय प्रयासोऽपि न तथा प्रतिभाति यथालङ्काराणां स्वरूपप्रदर्शने। अनेकत्र 'अत्र कृष्णे काव्यशास्त्रोक्तदक्षिणनायकोचितानां सात्त्विकगुणानां वर्णनसत्त्वेऽपि तत् भक्त्याङ्गभूतायां रत्यामेव पर्यवस्यति' [पृ० ८२] 'अत्रापि शृङ्गारोचितानां विभावानुभावसंचारिणां संयोगेऽपि न रसपरिपाको रतिरूपस्थायिभावस्य भक्तिभावस्याङ्गभूतत्वात्' [पृ० ८४] प्रभृतयः टिप्पण्यः रसविषये भ्रान्तिमेव जनयन्ति।

ग्रन्थान्ते परिशिष्टस्य निबन्धनं सुतरामुपयोगि। मुद्रणम्-आवरणञ्च मनोहारि। ग्रन्थादौ बाबुराम पाण्डेयेन लिखितमामुखम् काव्यस्यास्य रसास्वादने मनस आवर्जने च सुतरामलम्। सुललितस्यास्य स्तोत्रकाव्यस्य कवयित्री सुतरां काव्यप्रतिभां दधती मनोरमैः काव्यैः संस्कृतवाङ्मयस्य निधिं प्रथयिष्यतीत्याशासमानः तस्याः वर्धापनमाशंसे।

ब्रह्ममित्र अवस्थी

रीडर
गङ्गानाथ झा केन्द्रीय संस्कृत विद्यापीठ,
इलाहाबाद-२

मानमेयोदयः—नारायणभट्टनारायणपण्डिताभ्यां प्रणीतः। सम्पादकौ—डा० सी० कुनहनराजा एस० एस० सूर्यनारायणशास्त्री च। प्रकाशकः—आडयारपुस्तकालयानुसन्धानकेन्द्रम्। द्वितीयं संस्करणम्। प्रकाशनसमयः—१९७५ ई०। पृष्ठसंख्या—५२+३४७।

साम्प्रतिके युगे मीमांसाशास्त्रस्याल्पीयान् दृश्यते प्रचारः। यज्ञयागादिवैदिककर्मकाण्डजातस्य कालकवलिततया तदुपकारकस्य मीमांसाशास्त्रस्योपेक्षा लोके स्वाभाविकी एव। आपाततः परस्परं विरोधिनां विपरीतार्थकानां च वेदवाक्यजातानामर्थसन्देहापाकरणाय अथ च वास्तविकार्थविदनाय च मीमांसाशास्त्रस्यावतार इति न तिरोहितं विद्वल्लोचनेभ्यः।

अस्य च शास्त्रस्य द्वौ सम्प्रदायौ भाट्टगुरुविशेषणविशिष्टौ नयनपथातिथी भवतः। भट्टकुमारिलपादः भाट्टसम्प्रदायस्य प्रवर्तकः प्रभाकरमिश्रस्तु गुरुनाम्ना ख्यातो गुरुसम्प्रदायस्य प्राभाकरमतस्य वा प्रवर्तक इति सहजातावुभौ।

यद्यप्यनयोः भाट्टगुरुप्रस्थानयोर्विवृद्धिरनेकैः शिष्यप्रशिष्यादिभिर्बहुविधग्रन्थरचनापूर्वकं कृता तथापि समुपलब्धमीमांसाग्रन्थानां पर्यालोचनया प्रतीयते यद् भाट्टप्रस्थानस्याधिकतरं प्रचारोऽभूत् पण्डितेषु अतएवाविच्छिन्ना परम्परा तस्य दृश्यते प्राभाकरप्रस्थानं तु शालिकनाथस्य प्रकरणपञ्जिकायाः पश्चात् मन्दतां गतं पुनः समये समये तद्विद्भिरुज्जीवितम्।

इह शास्त्रप्रणयने धाराद्वयमवलोक्यते ग्रन्थकाराणाम्। एका सूत्रव्याख्यानपरा अपरा च प्रकरणग्रन्थरूपा। यथा अध्वरमीमांसाकुतूहलवृत्तिः प्रथमकोटौ समायाति प्रकरणपञ्चिका तु द्वितीयकोटौ।

मानमेयोदयो नाम प्रकरणग्रन्थः भाट्टसम्प्रदायस्य प्रमाणप्रमेययोः सरलया रीत्या परिचयं प्रस्तौति साधारणजिज्ञासूनां कृते हृदयङ्गमया भाषया तत्त्वार्थबोधने नितरां समर्थोऽयं ग्रन्थः अपेक्षितैरेव वाक्यकदम्बैः मूलमनुव्रजन् युक्तिमद्विचारजातमुपस्थापयति। यद्यपि नारायणयुगलोऽस्य ग्रन्थस्य प्रणेता। षोडशशतकस्योत्तरार्धभवः नारायणभट्टोऽस्य प्रमाणपरिच्छेदं तस्मात् पश्चाद्भवश्च नारायणपण्डितोऽस्य प्रमेयपरिच्छेदं व्यरचयताम्। तथापि नान्तरं प्रतीयते प्रतिपादनपद्धतौ भाषायाश्च प्रवाह इति वैशिष्ट्यमिह दर्शनीयतां याति। यथा न्यायवैशेषिकयोः पदार्थावगतये भाषापरिच्छेदापरनामधेया न्यायसिद्धान्तमुक्तावली वेदान्तस्य पदार्थपरिचयाय वेदान्तपरिभाषा छात्राणामुपकाराय कल्पेते प्रारम्भिकं तत्तच्छास्त्रज्ञानं कारयतस्तथैव भाट्टसम्प्रदायस्य मीमांसाशास्त्रीयप्रमाणजातस्य प्रमेयनिचयस्य च सौलभ्येनावबोधं कारयति मानमेयोदयनामा ग्रन्थोऽयम्।

एतद्ग्रन्थस्य प्रस्तुतेऽस्मिन् संस्करणे आधुनिकानां विश्वविद्यालयान्तेवासिनां सुखबोधाय न केवलं सामीक्षिकं सम्पादनं मूलपाठस्य कृतमपि तु आङ्ग्लभाषानुवादोऽप्येतस्य सरलया भाषया प्रतिपादनपटीयस्या च पद्धत्या सम्पादनकर्मणि कुशलतमाभ्यां सम्पादकाभ्यां कृतोऽथ च भाट्टप्राभाकरयोरन्यसम्प्रदायस्य प्रमाणप्रमेयविषयकं तुलनात्मकं टिप्पणम् उद्धृतानां ग्रन्थकाराणां ग्रन्थानां सम्प्रदायानां च सूची विषयानुक्रमणिकादयश्च भूमिकायां सन्ति निर्दिष्टाः। छात्राणां हितबुद्ध्या विविधेषु परिशिष्टेषु आङ्ग्लभाषायां पारिभाषिकपदानामर्थाः विषयावबोधाय Notes पदवाच्यादयश्च निवेशिताः सन्ति। एतस्मात् ग्रन्थस्थान् विषयान् सम्पादकस्य पाटवेन सुलभतया मन्दबुद्धयोऽल्पबुद्धयोऽपि छात्राः समवगन्तुमर्हन्तीति सर्वथा धन्यवादपात्राणि सन्ति सम्पादकवर्याः।

इतः पूर्वं प्रकाशितेऽस्मिन् ग्रन्थे पाठाशुद्धयोऽन्यविधत्रुटयश्चासन् यासां साधु समाधानं मातृकान्तरलाभेन बौद्धिकपरिश्रमेण च कृतं समाहितचेतोभ्यां सम्पादनकर्मणि नितरां कुशलाभ्यां विद्वत्सु लब्धप्रतिष्ठाभ्यां सम्पादकाभ्यामिहेति निःसंशयं वक्तुं शक्यम्।

युक्तियुक्तः प्रकरणसङ्गतश्चातएव समुचितः पाठ इह ताभ्यां धीधनाभ्यां सज्जीकृतः। आङ्ग्लभाषानुवादस्यापि प्रतिपादनशैली ऋजुतमा प्रसन्ना च भाषापि प्रवाहमयी अनुकूलतमा चेति न केवलमन्तेवासिनां जिज्ञासूनामुपकारायापि तु विदुषामपि सन्तोषाय कल्पेते सम्पादनप्रकाशनेऽस्य। मुद्रणादिकमावरणसज्जादिकं सर्वथा नैर्मल्यं

भजत इति संग्राह्योऽयं ग्रन्थः मीमांसाशास्त्ररसिकानाम्। सम्पादकप्रकाशकौ च सर्वथा श्लाघ्यतां गच्छतः।

किशोरनाथ झा

रीडर
गंगानाथ झा केन्द्रीय संस्कृत विद्यापीठ
इलाहाबाद-२

वैदिक कविता—लेखक—डॉ॰हरिमोहन मिश्र, प्रकाशक—अनुपम प्रकाशन, पटना। आकार $\frac{१८\times२२}{१६}$ पृष्ठ संख्या १७६, मूल्य चालीस रुपये।

प्रस्तुत ग्रन्थ **ऋग्वेद** के चुने हुए सोलह-सूक्तों का काव्यमय अनुवाद है। यशस्वी कवि डॉ॰ हरिमोहनमिश्र ने उसके लिये प्रायः प्रचलित सूक्तों को ही चुना है जो निम्नलिखित हैं। प्रत्येक सूक्त की मन्त्रसंख्या कोष्ठक में अंकित है। मृत्यु [१३] यमयमी संवाद [१०] वनदेवी [८] पर्जन्य [१०] इन्द्र [१५] सूर्य [६] शतलज एवं व्यास से विश्वामित्र का संवाद [१३] उषा [१३] सोम [११] अग्नि [९] वाक् [११] कितव [१४] सृष्टि चिन्तन [७]।

ग्रन्थकार ने उपर्युक्त सूक्तों का मनोरम काव्यमय अनुवाद करके प्रस्तुत ग्रन्थ की रचना की है। प्रस्तुत ग्रन्थ के मुख्यतः तीन खण्ड कहे जा सकते हैं—(१) भूमिका, (२) कविता और (३) परिशिष्ट। इसमें भूमिका भाग अत्यन्त विस्तृत १२२ पृष्ठों में है। यह भाग जितना विस्तृत है उतना ही गम्भीर एवं अनुसन्धानपूर्ण। इसमें वेदकालीन ऐतिहासिक पृष्ठभूमि में साहित्य सृष्टि, विश्व साहित्य का आरम्भ, भारत का प्राकृतिक परिवेश, भारत का मानवीय परिवेश (पूर्व पाषाण युग—द्रविण भारत] आर्यभाषी और उनका भारत प्रवेश, भारत में आर्य और आर्येतर ऋग्वेदीय भारत, ऋग्वेदीय आर्यों की समाज-व्यवस्था, ऋग्वेदीय आर्यों के धार्मिक विचार एवं आचार, ऋग्वेदीय आर्यों का जीवन-दर्शन, ऋग्वेदीय पुराख्यान, ऋग्वेदीय आर्यों की भाषा, ऋग्वेदीय छन्द, ऋचाओं की रचना और उनका संग्रह, कवि अथवा सूक्तकार, ऋग्वेद में लोक साहित्य, शिष्ट साहित्य के रूप में ऋग्वेद, ऋग्वेदीय साहित्य के विविध प्रकार एवं ऋग्वेदीय साहित्य का शिल्प-पक्ष—इस अन्तिम शीर्षक के अन्तर्गत अर्थ विवेचन, प्रतीकयोजना, बिम्बविधान, साम्यविधान, उक्तिप्रकार, वाक्यसंघटन, पदसंघटन, ध्वनिसंघटन आदि विषयों पर विचार किया गया है। 'भूमिका' भाग का एक-एक वाक्य वैदिक काव्य के क्षेत्र में उत्कृष्ट अनुसन्धान का निदर्शन है। लेखक ने आधुनिक भारतीय [प्रादेशिक भाषाओं के समीक्षात्मक ग्रन्थ के साथ] एवं पाश्चात्य विद्याविदों के साहित्य का प्रासङ्गिक रहस्य भी इसमें समाहित करने का यथासंभव प्रयत्न किया है जो उनकी सतत स्वाध्यायशीलता का एक उत्कृष्ट निदर्शन है।

मुख्य भाग 'वैदिक कवि और कविताएँ' में डॉ० हरिमोहन झा का वैदिक काव्य हिन्दी भाषामय, उत्कृष्ट और मनोरम काव्य में रूपान्तरित है जो स्वयं में वैदिक काव्य का अनुवाद होकर भी पाठक को मौलिक काव्य का आनन्द प्रदान करता है। उदाहरणार्थ—

वाक्सूक्त—"ओं उत त्वः पश्यन्न ददर्श वाचम्
उत त्वः शृण्वन्न शृणोत्येनाम्।
उतो त्वस्मै तन्वं विसस्रे
जायेव पत्ये उशती सुवासाः॥"

ऋग्वेद १०·७१·४

का

"लोचन है पर देख नहीं पाता कोई वाङ्मय आलोक,
सुनता है लेकिन सुन पाता नहीं गिरा का गौरव घोष।
किन्तु किसी के हेतु अनावृत करती वाणी तन अपना,
जैसे प्रिय के हेतु प्रिया करती सकाम सुन्दर वसना॥"

आदि अनुवाद देखे जा सकते हैं, जिन्हें पढ़ते हुए पाठक झूम उठता है। प्रत्येक काव्य के प्रारम्भ में उसकी प्रस्तावना स्वर्ण में सुगन्ध का संयोग उपस्थित करती है। ग्रन्थ का 'परिशिष्ट' भाग भी स्वयं में अत्यन्त महत्वपूर्ण है। ग्रन्थकार ने उसके (क) भाग में मूल वैदिक काव्य का संकलन करके (ख) भाग में प्रत्येक मन्त्र से सम्बन्धित विस्तृत टिप्पणियों को संयोजित किया है, जो उत्कृष्ट अनुसन्धानपूर्ण होने के कारण वेद के अध्येताओं और छात्रों के लिये अत्यन्त उपयोगी है।

उच्च अनुसन्धानपूर्ण भूमिका और टिप्पणियों के समानान्तर अत्यन्त प्रभावपूर्ण मनोरम ललित कविता के संगम भूत इस ग्रन्थ के रचयिता को समीक्षक कहा जाय या प्रतिभा मण्डित कवि? इसमें अन्यतर का निर्धारण करना कठिन ही नहीं, असम्भव प्रतीत होता है।

सुन्दर साज-सज्जा से मण्डित, मुद्रण की त्रुटियों से प्रायः रहित प्रस्तुत काव्य एवं समीक्षा के महनीय संगम को प्रस्तुत करने के सन्दर्भ में लेखक और प्रकाशक दोनों बधाई के पात्र हैं।

ब्रह्ममित्र अवस्थी

रीडर
गंगानाथ झा केन्द्रीय संस्कृत विद्यापीठ,
इलाहाबाद—२

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गैर्वाणीगौरवग्रन्थमाला

गीर्वाणवाणीगौरवभूतप्रत्नूतनलघुग्रन्थानां सङ्कलनम्

गङ्गानाथझाकेन्द्रीयसंस्कृतविद्यापीठशोधपत्रिकायाः परिशिष्टम्

द्वितीयं प्रसूनम्

विकीर्णपत्रलेखम्

जगन्नाथ पाठकः



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विकीर्णपत्रलेखम्

जगन्नाथ पाठकः

'विकीर्णपत्रलेखं' नामेदं गीर्वाणवाणीनिबद्धमाधुनिकमष्टदृश्यात्मकं लघुरूपकं कादम्बर्यां' महाकविना बाणभट्टेन कथानायकस्य चन्द्रापीडस्य ताम्बूलकरङ्कवाहिनीत्वेन चित्रितां पत्रलेखामवलम्ब्य निर्मितमस्ति। पत्रलेखा सर्वतः पूर्वं महाकविना श्रीरवीन्द्रनाथेन 'काव्येर उपेक्षिता' नाम्नि स्वकीये निबन्धे संस्कृतसाहित्यस्योपेक्षितानां कतिपयेषां नारीपात्राणां मध्ये परिगणिता वर्तते। प्रस्तुतस्य रूपकस्य निर्माणे स एव निबन्धो मूलं प्रवर्तकत्वमभजत। (विकीर्णा पत्रलेखा यत्र तत्, अथवा विकीर्णः पत्रलेखो यत्र तदिति)

श्रीरवीन्द्रनाथानुसारं, "कादम्बरीकथायां पत्रलेखया स्वल्प एव स्थाने आश्रयो गृहीतः। नासीत् तत्र तस्या आगमनस्य किमपि प्रयोजनम्। तस्याः पक्षे स्थानमतीव सङ्कीर्णम्। इतस्ततश्चरणयोः प्रसारणेऽपि सङ्कष्टम्। अस्या आख्यायिकायाः पत्रलेखा येन सुकुमारेण सम्बन्धसूत्रेणाबद्धा वर्तते न तादृशं कस्मिन्नपि साहित्ये क्वचिद् दृश्यते। अथ च कविना (बाणभट्टेन) अतिसहजेनातिसरलेन चेतसाऽपूर्वस्यास्य सम्बन्धस्यावतारणा कृता वर्तते। कथमप्ययं (सम्बन्धः) उर्णातन्तुरिव किञ्चिदप्याकृष्टमात्रमपि क्षणेन छिन्न भवेदित्याशङ्का समुत्पन्ना भवितुर्महति।....पत्रलेखा पत्नी नास्ति, प्रणयिन्यपि नास्ति, किङ्कर्यपि नास्ति, पुरुषस्य सहचर्यस्ति।....सम्बन्धोऽयमपूर्वसुमधुरः, किन्त्वत्र नार्या अधिकारस्य पूर्णता नास्ति।...प्रणायतृषार्तं चिरवञ्चितञ्चैकं नारीहृदयमवशिष्यते। तस्य (बाणभट्टस्य) समस्तं कार्पण्यमेतां विगतनाथां राजदुहितरं प्रति वर्तते।"

कादम्बर्यां पत्रलेखायाः सुमनोरमं वर्णनं प्रस्तूय बाणभट्टेन वृद्धकञ्चुकिमुखेन महादेव्या विलासवत्याश्चन्द्रापीडं प्रति सन्देशवचनमेवं लिखितम्—"इयं खलु कन्यका

पूर्वं कुलूतराजधानीमवजित्य कुलूतेश्वरदुहिता पत्रलेखाभिधाना बालिका सती बन्दीजनेन महाराजेन सहानीयान्तःपुरपरिचारिकामध्यमुपनीता । सा मया विगतनाथा राजदुहितेति समुपजातस्नेहया दुहितृनिर्विशेषमियन्तं कालमुपलालिता संवर्धिता च....।''

लघुरूपकेऽत्र प्रारम्भतश्चन्द्रापीडस्य सहजस्नेहेन समर्पितहृदया पत्रलेखा तं प्रत्यन्तरन्तरनुरक्ता भवति । सा निरन्तरमात्मानं राजकन्येति चिन्तयति । दिग्विजययात्राप्रसङ्गे चन्द्रापीडस्य हेमकूटवासिन्या गन्धर्वराजकुमार्या कादम्बर्या सह प्रणयपरिचये घटिते सा स्वचेतसि विकीर्णा भवति । ताम्प्रति चन्द्रापीडस्य यदा कदाचिदुपेक्षाभावोऽपि किञ्चित् प्रकटीभवति । कादम्बर्या सह प्रणयप्रसङ्गे सा चन्द्रापीड-कादम्बर्योर्मध्यस्थतामवलम्बते । तस्या विकीर्णतामभिलक्ष्य कादम्बर्याः सखी महाश्वेता कदाचिदेकान्ते मिलिता समवेदनां प्रकटयति । किन्तु तदैव दूतमुखात् अच्छोदसरसि कुमारस्य चन्द्रापीडस्य मित्रविरहेण हृदयस्फोटस्य समाचारं श्रुत्वा स्वयमच्छोदसरोवरे निपतितुं प्रयाति ।

लघुरूपकेऽस्मिन् मूलकादम्बरीकथाया एव वाक्यानि प्रायः कथोपकथनेषु किञ्चित्परिवर्तनपूर्वं गृहीतान्यस्माभिः । कथानके रूपकानुकल्पेन मूलकथातो यत्किञ्चित् परिवर्तनमपि कृतम् । अस्य स्थापत्ये प्राचीननाट्यशास्त्रपद्धतिर्नानुसृता, परं कोऽपि नूतन एष प्रयोग इति मत्वाऽऽकलनीयमिदं सुधीभिः ।

पूर्वमत्र बाणभट्टः स्वर्गादवतरति । उज्जयिन्यां परिवर्तनमवलोक्य विस्मयपरवशो भवति । तत्रैव महाकालस्य दर्शनप्रसङ्गे काचिद् दुर्गता स्त्री मिलति, यया समं वार्तालापे संवृत्ते बाणभट्टस्य चेतसि कादम्बर्यां वर्णितायाः कुलूतेश्वरदुहितुः पत्रलेखायाः स्मृतिरुदेति । इयमेव लघुरूपकस्यास्य लघ्वी प्रस्तावना । पार्यन्तिके च दृश्ये बाणभट्टो मर्त्यलोके पुनर्जन्म गृहीत्वा उपेक्षिता नारीः समुद्धर्तुं कादम्बर्या उत्तरभागस्य पत्रलेखानाम्ना निर्मातुं निश्चयं कुर्वन् भगवते महाकालाय प्रणिपातञ्च समर्पयन् रङ्गमञ्चान्निर्गच्छति ।

लघुरूपकस्यास्याभिनयोऽस्माकं विद्यापीठे नवम्बरमासस्य (१९७९) त्रयोविंशतालिकायां विद्यापीठीयैरधिकारिभिः शोधच्छात्रैश्च मिलित्वा बहूनां सहृदयानां सामाजिकानामुपस्थितौ सर्वथा साफल्येन विहितः । मुख्यातिथिरूपेण समुपस्थिता आसन् दिल्लीस्थराष्ट्रियसंस्कृतसंस्थानस्य निदेशकाः श्रीकेवलकृष्णसेठीमहाभागाः ।



केयूरकेण प्रदत्तपरिचयां पत्रलेखां प्रशंसन्ती कादम्बरी पार्श्वस्थौ चन्द्रापीडः मदलेखा च ।

(क्रमेण—श्रीराममिश्र, कु० रीता विश्वास, श्रीमती गौरी बनर्जी, कु० अञ्जलि अस्थाना, श्रीगिरिजाशंकर त्रिपाठी) ।

अस्य लघुरूपकस्य योजनायां कश्चन मदीयोऽपि योग आसीत् । परं बाणभट्टस्यैव कथाव्यवस्थाया वाक्यावलीनाञ्च प्रयोगोऽत्र बाहुल्येन यत्किञ्चित्परिवर्तनपुरस्सरं मया कृत इत्यतोऽपि यदस्य निर्मातृत्वं सुहृद्भिर्मयि न्यासि तत्र तेषां विशिष्टं सौहार्दमेवाकलयामि, न किञ्चिदन्यत् । पूर्वमस्मिन् प्रसङ्गे विद्यापीठस्य प्राचार्यान् सहृदयशिरोमणीन् डा० गयाचरणत्रिपाठिवर्यान् प्रति स्वकीयमाभारं विनिवेदयामि येषां सौजन्येन प्रेरणया च लघुरूपकस्यास्य विद्यापीठेऽभिनयः सम्पन्नः । अस्मिन् प्रकाशनव्यापारेऽपि तेषामुत्साह एव सूत्रधारतामवलम्बते । श्रीमत्या डा० मायामालवीयया लघुरूपकस्यास्य निर्देशकत्वं गीतादीनां सरसं योजकत्वञ्च महता साफल्येन निर्व्यूढमिति तामप्रत्याभारभरिता वयम् । सहायकनिर्देशकेन डा० किशोरनाथझाशर्मणा, डा० राघवप्रसाद चौधरीमहोदयेन श्रीयुत 'ललितललाम' श्रीराममिश्रेण चाभिनयस्य निर्देशनेऽभिनयव्यापारे च सुमहान् श्रमः कृतः इति तेभ्यो धन्यवादा वितीर्यन्ते । अभिनयव्यापारे प्रवृत्तेभ्यः शोधच्छात्रच्छात्राभ्यश्च धन्यवादान् वितरामः ।

जगन्नाथपाठकः



श्रीः

विकीर्णपत्रलेखम्

"नमस्तुङ्गशिरश्चुम्बिचन्द्रचामरचारवे ।
त्रैलोक्यनगरारम्भमूलस्तम्भाय शम्भवे ॥
हरकण्ठग्रहानन्दमीलिताक्षीं नमाम्युमाम् ।
कालकूटविषस्पर्शजातमूर्च्छागमामिव ॥"

[प्रथमं दृश्यम्]

बाणभट्टः—(**आकाशादवतरन्**) चिरात् स्वर्गलोके कृतनिवासस्यापि मे चित्तं भारतवर्षमध्यवर्तिन्याः सकलत्रिभुवनललामभूताया उज्जयिन्याः पुनर्दर्शनार्थमाकुलितमिवास्ति । अद्यात्मानं संवृत्य भिन्नेनैव वेषेण प्रविशाम्युज्जयिनीम् । (**निर्वर्ण्य**) अहो ! इयमेव सा नगरी यस्या वर्णनं मया कादम्बर्यां सविस्तरं कृतम् ! क्व ताः सुरासुरसिद्धगन्धर्वविद्याधरोरगाध्यासिताश्चित्रशालाः ? क्व तानि दुग्धधवलितमन्दरद्युतिभिः अमरमन्दिरैर्विराजितानि शृङ्गाटकानि ? क्व ते स्तिमितमुरजरवगम्भीरगर्जितेषु धारागृहेषु मत्तमयूराणां कोलाहलाः ? क्व तानि इन्द्रलोचनानीव सहस्रसंख्यानि सरांसि ? सकलमपि नगरसंस्थानं भिन्नमिव दृश्यते । (**स्मृतिमभिनीय**) पूर्वम्, सुरासुरचूडामणिमरीचिचुम्बितचरणनखमयूखस्य निशितशूलदारितान्धकमहासुरस्य गौरीनूपुरकोटिघृष्टशेखरचन्द्रशकलस्य त्रिपुरभस्मरजःकृताङ्ग-

रागस्य प्रलयानलशिखाकलापकपिलजटाभारभ्रान्तसुरसिन्धोः अन्धकारातेः उत्सृष्टकैलासवासप्रीतेः महाकालाभिधानस्य भगवतो दर्शनेनात्मा पवित्रयितव्यः। (मन्दिराभ्यन्तरं गत्वा)

जयन्ति बाणासुरमौलिलालिता
दशास्यचूडामणिचक्रचुम्बिनः।
सुरासुराधीशशिखान्तशायिनो
भवच्छिदस्त्र्यम्बकपादपांसवः॥

(मन्दिरान्निर्गच्छन् कामपि प्रियवियोगविधुरां युवतिं विलोक्य, स्वगतम्) अहो, का इयमतिमात्रदुर्गतेव तरुणी किमपि लिखन्ती तिष्ठति ! अथ पृच्छाम्येनाम्। (प्रकाशम्) शुभे ! का त्वम् ? कथमिव दयनीयामेतां दशां परिगताऽसि ? नहि तवाकृतिरीदृशस्य वेषस्यावस्थायाश्चेदृशः पात्रम् !

स्त्री—(निर्वर्ण्य भीतभीता किञ्चिदुच्छ्वसन्ती स्वगतम्) ममापि मन्दभाग्याया अस्मिन् जगति वर्तते कुशलक्षेमजिज्ञासुः ? (प्रकाशम्) कश्चन मान्यकुलसञ्जात इवाभिलक्ष्यते भवान्। भगवन्, नाहं कस्यचित् परिचयस्योपचारस्य वा पात्रम्। नास्ति कश्चिदस्मिन् विस्तृते जगति यं 'आत्मीय' इति वक्तुं पारयामि। एकाकिनी भारमिव जीवनं वहामि।

बाणभट्टः—शुभे, त्वद्वचनेन नितरां व्यथितोऽस्मि। कथय, क्व ते माता, क्व ते पिता ?

स्त्री—देशस्यास्य विभाजनं सञ्जातम्। तस्मिन्नेव विभाजनकाले धर्मान्धैर्हृदयहीनैर्हतौ मे पितरौ। (रोदिति) तेष्वेव एकेन दयापरिगतेन स्वसद्मन्यहं परिरक्षिता परिपालिता च। तस्यैव सुतस्य सेवायां नियुक्ताऽन्तरन्तः प्रणयपरिगताऽहम्। परम्, प्राप्तयौवनस्य मम प्रियस्यान्यस्यामनुरागः समुत्पन्नः। आत्मन

उपेक्षामसहमाना तद्गृहान्निर्गता पत्रमिदं लिखित्वा प्रेष्य च उज्जयिन्याः परिसरवाहिन्यां शिप्रायामात्मानं विनिक्षिपामि ।
(इति वदन्त्युत्थाय पत्रसहिता शनैः शनैर्निर्गच्छति) ।

बाणभट्टः—(स्मृतिमभिनीय) अहो ! कादम्बर्यां मया चन्द्रापीडस्य ताम्बूलकरङ्कवाहिनीरूपेण चित्रिता कुलूतराजदुहिता पत्रलेखाऽद्यापि जीवति ?

(निर्गच्छति)

[नेपथ्ये]

अतिशयमृदुचित्ता स्निग्धभावोल्लसन्ती
स्मितमधुरमुखश्रीरन्तरन्तः सुलग्ना ।
परिचरणपराऽऽर्द्रा कामिनी हन्त धीरैः
क्षणमपि कमनीया काऽपि नोपेक्षणीया ॥

[द्वितीयं दृश्यम्]

(ततः प्रविशति पश्चात् शनैः शनैरायान्त्या पत्रलेखया सह कञ्चुकी)

कञ्चुकी—(कुमारचन्द्रापीडमुपसृत्य प्रणम्य च) कुमार, महादेवी विलासवती समाज्ञापयति, 'इयं खलु कन्यका महाराजेन पूर्वं कुलूतराजधानीमवजित्य कुलूतेश्वरदुहिता पत्रलेखाभिधाना बालिका सती बन्दीजनेन सहानीय अन्तःपुरपरिचारिकामध्यमुपनीता ।

चन्द्रापीडः—(विस्मयमानः) नहि, नहि, राजकन्येयम्, अन्तःपुरपरिचारिकामध्ये निवासमर्हति ! ततस्ततः !



कादम्बर्याः कुमारचन्द्रापीडस्य मानुषीषु प्रणयसम्बन्धिनीं जिज्ञासां श्रुत्वा शिरोवेदनां नाटयन्ती पत्रलेखा, पार्श्वस्थिता मदलेखा ।
(क्रमेण —श्रीमती गौरी बनर्जी, कु० रीता विश्वास, कु० अञ्जलि अस्थाना)

कञ्चुकी—सा मया राजदुहिता इति समुपजातस्नेहया दुहितृनिर्विशेष-मियन्तं कालमुपलालिता संवर्धिता च ।

चन्द्रापीडः—(**स्मयमानः**) सदयहृदययाऽम्बया समुचितमेव कृतम् । ततस्ततः !

कञ्चुकी—तदियमुचिता भवतस्ताम्बूलकरङ्कवाहिनीति मया प्रेषिता । न चास्यामायुष्मता परिजनसामान्यदृष्टिना भवितव्यम् । बालेव लालनीया स्वचित्तवृत्तिरिव चापलेभ्यो निवारणीया । शिष्येव द्रष्टव्या । सुहृदिव सर्वविस्रम्भेष्वभ्यन्तरीकरणीया । दीर्घकाल-संवर्धितस्नेहतया स्वसुतायामिव हृदयमस्यामस्ति मे । महा-भिजनराजवंशप्रसूता च अर्हति इयमेवंविधानि कर्माणि । सर्वथा तथा कल्याणिना प्रयतितव्यं यथेयमतिचिरमुचिता परिचारिका ते भवति इति ।

चन्द्रापीडः—(**पत्रलेखामनिमेषलोचनं सुचिरमवलोक्य**) यथाज्ञापयत्यम्बा । (**कञ्चुकी निर्गच्छति, पत्रलेखां प्रति**) किमिवानुभवसि इदानीं मदन्तिकमायान्ती ?

पत्रलेखा—देव, नाहमेतादृशः सौभाग्यस्य समुचिता !

चन्द्रापीडः—पत्रलेखे, त्वद्विषयः परिचारिकेति शब्दो न मे रोचते । त्वं तु कस्यचिद् राजकुमारस्य हृदयालङ्करणं भवितुमर्हसि । [**पत्र-लेखा सङ्कोचमभिनयति**] (**अवलोक्य**) अस्तु, त्वत्करकलितं ताम्बूलमिदानीमुपलब्धुमिच्छामि (**ताम्बूलमास्वाद्य मुख-चेष्टया प्रशंसति**) अनेन ताम्बूलेन न केवलं मुखं, हृदयमप्यनु-रञ्जितं मे । मन्ये, न खलु ताम्बूलस्य नैसर्गिकं वैशिष्टयम्, किन्तु त्वत्करकलितस्यैव वैशिष्टयमुत्पन्नम् ।

पत्रलेखा—अनुगृहीताऽस्म्यनेन कुमारस्य प्रथमदर्शनादारभ्य मयि सम्भृत-स्नेहस्य प्रणयमधुरस्नेहसंलापेन ।

चन्द्रापीडः—मन्ये त्वया सङ्गीतकमपि शिक्षितं भवेत् ?

पत्रलेखा—कथमिवावगतं कुमारेण ?

चन्द्रापीडः—तवानेन सुरुचिरवाग्विन्यासचातुर्येण, तवानया च तन्त्रीवाद्यघट्टनकिञ्चिदभिन्नवर्णनखदेशया तर्जन्या चावगतं मया ।

(निर्गच्छति)

पत्रलेखा—**(प्रसादं नाटयित्वा)** कुमारेणोक्तम्''' त्वं तु कस्यचिद् राजकुमारस्य हृदयालङ्करणं भवितुमर्हसि''''त्वत्करकलितस्यैव वैशिष्ट्यमेतादृशमुत्पन्नम् !

[तृतीयं दृश्यम्]

पत्रलेखा—**(प्रविश्य)** अहो, यदवधि कुमारचन्द्रापीडस्य ताम्बूलकरङ्कवाहिन्याः पदे नियुक्ताऽस्मि तदीयां छायामिव समं सञ्चरन्तीं मां सेवायां सम्भाव्यमानां त्रुटिं परिलक्ष्य किञ्चिदिव निरन्तरं व्यथयति चिन्ताभरः ! प्रातः शयनादुत्थितस्य कुमारस्य कृते स्नानपर्यन्तं, मध्याह्ने भोजनोत्तर विश्रामपर्यन्तं, सायंकाले विविधप्रेक्षणकदर्शनेन मनोविनोदपर्यन्तं, सकलमपि व्यवहारजातं ममैव सन्धानव्यग्राया निरीक्षणे सम्पन्नं भवति । किमिदमेतत् सर्वं खेदावहमायोजनं मम सौभाग्यस्य संवर्धकम् !? इह न कश्चिदस्य सर्वस्यायोजनस्य कृते पुरस्कारदाता । निरन्तरं सुखभोगपरायणेन कुमारेणापि नोक्तम्, यत् पत्रलेखे, त्वया मत्कृते महत्कष्टमनुभूयत इति ! दासजनस्यापि कष्ट भवति ?

कुमारः कस्याश्चित् गन्धर्वराजपुत्र्याः कादम्बर्याः प्रणयपाशे निबद्धहृदयः गन्धर्वलोकान् प्रति निवृत्तः । इदानीं तामेव चेतसा चिन्तयतो जाग्रत एवास्य जगाम रात्रिः । अद्य केयूरकनामा कादम्बर्या वीणावादकः समुपागतो गन्धर्वलोकात् । तेनैव सह कुमारः प्रेयस्याः समाचारव्यग्रस्तिष्ठति । तावदुपसर्पामि ।

[कुमाराय ताम्बूलमर्पयित्वा गृहीतवीणा तूष्णीं तिष्ठति]

चन्द्रापीडः—केयूरक, कथय कुशलिनी देवी ससखीजना सपरिजना कादम्बरी भगवती महाश्वेता च? ततो ममागमनानन्तरं किमिव चेष्टितं देव्या कादम्बर्या?

(पत्रलेखा प्रश्नानन्तरमेव वीणातन्त्र्या भङ्गं सूचयति)

आः पत्रलेखे! किमिव जातम्!

पत्रलेखा—आर्यपुत्र, न किमपि, केवलं वीणायास्तन्त्री भग्ना।

(इति वदन्ती मूर्च्छामिव नाटयित्वा निःश्वसन्ती तिष्ठति)

केयूरकः—अद्य कुशलिनी देवी कादम्बरी यामेवं देवः पृच्छति। (**किञ्चिद् विरम्य**) चूडामणिचुम्बिना कोमलाङ्गुलिविनिर्गतलोहितांशुजालेनाञ्जलिना देवमर्चयति देवी कादम्बरी।

चन्द्रापीडः—किं कदाचित् स्मरति देवी जनस्यास्य?

केयूरकः—देव, बलवदस्वस्थशरीरा देवी कादम्बरी, स्मरति च स्मेरानन स्मरकल्पं भवन्तम्। अतः पुनरागमनगौरवेणार्हसि तां गुणवदभिमानिनीं कर्तुम्।

चन्द्रापीडः—महाश्वेताचरणाराधनतपःफलमिदं यदेवं परिजनेऽप्यनुस्करणादिकं प्रसादभारमतिमहान्तमारोपयति देवी कादम्बरी।

केयूरकः—एष शयनीये विस्मृतो हारो देव्या प्रहितः। (**चन्द्रापीडः सहर्षमादाय हारं कण्ठे करोति, पुनः पत्रलेखया प्रदत्तं ताम्बूलमादाय केयूरकेण सह निर्गच्छति, पत्रलेखाऽपि पृष्ठतो याति।**)

[चतुर्थं दृश्यम्]

पत्रलेखा—(**प्रविश्य**) कुमारस्य हृदयं सर्वथा गन्धर्वराजपुत्र्याः कादम्बर्याः

प्रणयपरवशम्। तस्या एव लावण्यस्य स्मरणेन कथञ्चित्पुनर्मिलनाकांक्षया दिनान्यतिवाहयति। सम्प्रति केयूरकेण सह गन्तुमना वर्तते। मामपि सहैव नेतुमिच्छति। (किञ्चिद् विचार्य) किं कुमारेणारब्धमिति विमृश्य सम्भ्रान्तिमिवात्मन्यनुभवामि। क्षणमपि न तेन विचारितम्, अहमपि राजकुलसंभवा राज कन्या! केवलमन्तःपुरमध्यवासेन दासीसामान्यं नाकलनीया! तेन सह निवसन्त्या ममापि वर्तते हृदयम्! ममापि नारीजनसहजा चपला चित्तवृत्तिः! नाहं शिलामयी!

हन्त, हेमकूटं गतया मया कुमारकादम्बर्योः प्रणयसूत्रधारता कर्तव्येति कथं हृदि व्यथया विचेष्टमाना निर्वक्ष्यामि दासीभावम्? विधातः! सर्वथा निष्करुणोऽसि! प्रणयस्य किमियमपि रीतिः सर्वथा मूकतां प्रतिपद्य प्रियजनस्य निकटे स्थित्वाऽपि विरहदाहस्य पात्रेण भाव्यम्! (गायति)

भारमिव बत जीवनं कथमिव वहेयम्!
हन्त तिष्ठन्ती तटे देवापगायाः
नापि पयसो लब्धवत्येकं कणं रे।
भाग्यमीदृशमात्मनः कम्प्रति वदेयम्!
अद्य तूष्णींभावमाप्ता हृदयवीणा
कस्य तन्त्रीभङ्ग एष निवेदनीयः
विरहवह्नौ तनुमिमां कथमिव दहेयम्!

(निर्गच्छति)

[पञ्चमं दृश्यम्]

(पत्रलेखा चन्द्रं निर्निमेषं पश्यन्ती तिष्ठति)

चन्द्रापीडः—(प्रविश्य) पत्रलेखे, अत्र एकान्ते तिष्ठन्ती किमिव पश्यसि?

पत्रलेखा—कुमार, उदयन्तं पूर्णचन्द्रं पश्यामि !

चन्द्रापीडः—मुग्धे ! सकलङ्कोऽयं न दर्शनीयः !

पत्रलेखा—कुमार, किमिव निष्कलङ्कोऽपि चन्द्रो भवति ?

चन्द्रापीडः—(स्मृतिमभिनीयः स्मयमानः) आम् भवति, देव्याः कादम्बर्या मुखं नाम निष्कलङ्कश्चन्द्रः !

(निर्गच्छति)

[नेपथ्ये गानम्]

मुग्धे चकोरिके ! चन्द्रं प्राप्तुमिच्छति !
नभसि स तिष्ठति धरणिगता त्वम्
क्व विधुः क्व च मुग्धा त्वम् !
धैर्यं वह रे मुञ्च दुराशां त्वदभीष्टं न मिलिष्यति ।

[षष्ठं दृश्यम्]

(ततः प्रविशति कादम्बरी महाश्वेता च, केयूरकेण पत्रलेखया चानुगतश्चन्द्रापीडः)

चन्द्रापीडः—(कथञ्चित् कुसुमशयनादुत्तिष्ठन्तीं कादम्बरीं निवार्य) नास्त्यपेक्षितं किञ्चित्, तिष्ठतु देवी (प्रणमति)

कादम्बरी—(स्मयमाना उत्तिष्ठन्ती प्रतिप्रणमति)

केयूरकः—(पत्रलेखां निर्दिशन्) देवि, देवस्य प्रसादभूमिरेषा पत्रलेखा नाम ताम्बूलकरङ्कवाहिनी ।

कादम्बरी—(आश्चर्यमभिनीय) अहो, मानुषीषु पक्षपातः प्रजापतेः ! एहि एहि (इति सन्निकटे पृष्ठतो निवेशयति, मुहुर्मुहुः करकिसलयेन स्पृशति)

चन्द्रापीडः—जानामि कामरतिं निमित्तीकृत्य प्रवृत्तोऽयमविचलसन्तापतन्त्रो व्याधिः। सुतनु, न तथा त्वामेष व्यथयति यथाऽस्मान्। इच्छामि स्वस्थामत्रभवतीं कर्तुम्।

महाश्वेता—प्रियसखि, कुमाराय ताम्बूलं स्वकरेणार्प्यताम्।

कादम्बरी—(**महाश्वेतायाः कर्णे**) भवत्यैव दीयतां न पारयाम्यहम्।

महाश्वेता प्रणामस्य प्रथमो विधिस्त्वयैव परिपालनीयः।

(**कादम्बरी सङ्कोचमभिनयन्ती चन्द्रापीडाय ताम्बूलमर्पयति**)

चन्द्रापीडः—प्रिये, अत्रभवत्या करकमलार्पितं ताम्बूलमास्वाद्य विलक्षण एवानन्दः समनुभूयते मया। (**पत्रलेखामुद्दिश्य**) पत्रलेखे, ताम्बूलवीटीरचनापद्धतिः गन्धर्वलोके त्वयाऽभ्यसनीया।

(**पत्रलेखा शिरो नमयति**)

[**नेपथ्ये सारिकायाः स्वरः**]

चन्द्रापीडः—(**विस्मयमानः**) अहो, सारिकेयम्! कथमत्रागता! किमुक्तवती?

मदलेखा—कुमार, एषा भर्तृदुहितुः कादम्बर्याः सखी कालिन्दीनाम्नी सारिका!

चन्द्रापीडः—अयि, देव्याः सखी!

मदलेखा—अथ किम्! इयं परिहासनाम्नः शुकस्य भर्तृदारिकयैव पाणिग्रहणपूर्वकं जायापदं ग्राहिता!

चन्द्रापीडः—एवम्, ततस्ततः!

मदलेखा—अद्य अनया परिहासनामा शुकः कादम्बर्यास्ताम्बूलकरङ्कवाहिनीं तमालिकामेकाकिनीं किमपि पाठयन् दृष्टः !

चन्द्रापीडः—**(स्मयमानः)** सुमहाननर्थः सञ्जातः, ततस्ततः !

मदलेखा—ततः प्रभृति सञ्जातेर्ष्या न तमुपसर्पति, नालपति, न स्पृशति, न विलोकयति, सर्वाभिरस्माभिः प्रसाद्यमानाऽपि न प्रसीदति !

चन्द्रापीडः—देव्यास्तु कादम्बर्याः कथमेतद् युक्तं यन्न निवारयति दुष्टदासीम् !

[सर्वे हसन्ति]

दूतः—**(प्रविश्य)** देव, शिबिरादचिरमेव समागतोऽहम् । **(पत्रं ददाति)**

चन्द्रापीडः—अङ्ग कच्चित् कुशली तातः, सर्वेण परिजनेन सहाम्बा च ? **(पत्रं वाचयति)** देवि, इदानीमेव मयोज्जयिनी गन्तव्या । न चेदविनीतत्वम्, तर्हि, अनुमन्तुमर्हसि, आपृच्छे तावत् । **(कादम्बरी नेत्रसंज्ञयाऽनुमतिं ददाति, केयूरकञ्च वक्तुं निर्दिशति)**

केयूरकः—देव, देवी कादम्बरी खलु प्रथमदर्शनजनितप्रीतिः पत्रलेखां निर्वर्त्यमानामिच्छति । पश्चाद् यास्यति, इति श्रुत्वा देवः प्रमाणम् ।

चन्द्रापीडः—केयूरक, धन्या स्पृहणीया च पत्रलेखा, यामेवमनुबध्नाति दुर्लभो देवीप्रसादः ।

(निर्गच्छति)

कादम्बरी—पत्रलेखे, किम् एकान्तेषु यदा कदा कुमारः स्मरति मे ?

पत्रलेखा—देवि, तिष्ठन् स्वपन् चलन् निरन्तरं भवन्तीमेवानुध्यायन् यापयति कुमारः । भवत्या रूपलावण्यं स्नेहपरिकलितं हृदयञ्च नितरां प्रशंसति ।

कादम्बरी—किं मानुषीषु न काचित् कुमारस्य हृदयङ्गता ?

पत्रलेखा—एतादृशी न काचिद् भाग्यशालिनी मनुष्यलोके मया दृष्टा श्रुता वा या कुमारस्य हृदयङ्गता भवेत्।

(शिरोवेदनामभिनयति)

कादम्बरी—आः पत्रलेखे, किमिव जातम् ?

पत्रलेखा—देवि, न किञ्चित्, केवलं शिरोवेदनया परिगताऽहम्।

कादम्बरी—(मदलेखामाहूय) मदलेखे, नय पत्रलेखाम्, पश्चात् आनेष्यसि। **(मदलेखा पत्रलेखामादाय निर्गच्छति)**

[पटाक्षेपः]

[सप्तमं दृश्यम्]

पत्रलेखा—(प्रविश्य) अहो, साम्प्रतं मामेकाकिनीं·······नहि, नहि, विरहव्याकुलां देवीं कादम्बरीं विहाय पितरौ द्रष्टुमुज्जयिनीं गतः कुमारः। कुमारस्य देव्यां कादम्बर्यां दृढतां गतोऽनुरागः। अहो, गन्धर्वाणां मनुष्येष्वाकर्षणम् !

स्पृहणीयां मन्ये भगवतीं महाश्वेताम्, यया प्रियमिलनार्थमद्यावधि प्रतीक्षापरवशया स्थीयते। **(निर्वर्ण्य)** अहो, स्मृतमात्रैव भागवती इत एवायान्ती दृश्यते !

महाश्वेता—(समुपसृत्य पत्रलेखया सह स्थित्वा च) पत्रलेखे, कुमारं प्रति त्वदीयं स्नेहमनुमीय कादम्बर्याः प्रणयं व्यर्थमिवाकलयामि।

पत्रलेखा—(ससम्भ्रमम्) न खलु न खलु देवि, वयं क्षुद्रा मानुष्यः प्रणयव्यापारे गन्धर्वकुमारिकाभिर्न तुलनीयाः। कुमारस्य देव्यां देव्याश्च कुमारे सहजोऽनुरागः स्पृहणीयः।

महाश्वेता—ननु मन्ये तादृशस्यानुरागस्य त्वमपि पात्रमिति !



ताम्बूलकरङ्कवाहिन्याः पत्रलेखायाः हस्तात् ताम्बूलं गृह्णन् कुमारश्चन्द्रापीडः ।
(कु० रीता विश्वास, श्री श्रीराम मिश्र)

पत्रलेखा—वयं दास्यश्चरणनिकटे स्थापयितव्याः ।

महाश्वेता—पत्रलेखे, अनेनैव विनयेनार्हसि हृदयदेशे स्थानम् । परं कुमारस्य निकटवर्तिनीमपि त्वामन्तरन्तदूर्नामिवानुभवामि । द्रवतामिव नीतं मे चित्तं तव करुणवृत्तान्तेन । किं कादम्बर्या सर्वमिदमवगतम् ?

पत्रलेखा—(विस्मयतीव) शपे, न किञ्चिद् मद्गतं देव्या पृष्टं न च तावन्मया निवेदितम् ।

महाश्वेता—अनभिज्ञे ! केवलं कुमारस्य विरहवेदनायां क्लिश्यन्ती सा कथमिव त्वामवगन्तुमर्हति । आत्मसुखमात्रपरवशो हि गन्धर्वजनः परवेदनाया अनभिज्ञो भवति ।

पत्रलेखा—भगवति, शपे, न किञ्चिद् मद्विषयकेण वृत्तान्तेन कदाचिद् देवी कोमलतरहृदया पीडयितव्या ।

महाश्वेता—न खलु वक्ष्यामि····न खलु वक्ष्यामि,····परं नास्त्यत्र सन्देहः, कुमारं प्रति कादम्बर्या अनुरागः सर्वथा बाह्यः शरीरमात्रसीमितः, परं त्वदीयामाशाबन्धपरिगतां चित्तवृत्तिमालक्ष्य सकलमपि मानवीसमाजं प्रति श्रद्धयाऽवनताऽस्मि । कश्चन पूर्वजन्मानुगतः कुमारविषयकस्तव सहजोऽनुरागः । परं दुःखम्, समुहद् दुःखम्, यद्यावधि कुमारेणापि त्वमुपेक्षिता !

पत्रलेखा—देवि, मदीयं भाग्यमत्रापराध्यति, न कुमारः ।

अनुचरः—(प्रविश्य) देवि, श्रुतं कुमारस्य चन्द्रापीडस्य अच्छोदसरसः समीपे समागतस्य सुहृद्वैशम्पायनान्वेषणतत्परस्य कुतोऽपि तमपश्यतो हृदयस्फोटः समजनि ।

महाश्वेता—आः, किमेतत् संघटितम् ! सर्वोऽपि कादम्बरीपरिजनः सूचनीयः !

(निर्गच्छति)

[पत्रलेखा मूर्च्छति]

पत्रलेखा—(निःश्वस्य) कुमारविरहितेऽस्मिन् जगति जीवनधारणेन अलम् । कुमार, आत्मानमच्छोदसरसि विनिपात्य त्वदनुगामिनी भवामि ।

(निर्गच्छति)

[अष्टमं दृश्यम्]

वाणभट्टः—(प्रविश्य) अहो, दुर्गता तरुणी पत्रलेखा जीवनं मृत्यवे समर्पितवती शिप्रायामात्मानं विनिपात्य । नाहं तां रक्षितुमशक्नुवम् । मया सा उपेक्षिता । न जाने, कियत्योऽद्यापि सन्ति पत्रलेखाः, जीवनं भारमिव वहन्त्यः । ननु पुनर्बाणभट्ट एष उत्पत्स्यते मर्त्यलोके । आः, देवैरप्सरोभिः समं सुखं निवसन् बाणभट्ट एषोऽपराद्धः । अस्ति किञ्चिदीदृशस्यापराधस्य प्रायश्चित्तम् । (विचिन्त्य) पुनरयमहं मर्त्यलोके गृहीतजन्मा कादम्बर्याः पुनर्निर्माणं करिष्यामि । मल्लेखन्या अनुल्लिखितः कादम्बर्या उत्तरभागः पत्रलेखानाम्ना ख्यातिं लप्स्यते । मन्ये, इदमेव भविष्यति ममापराधस्य प्रायश्चित्तम् । भगवन् महाकाल, बाणभट्टस्य पुनः प्रणिपात एष स्वीकर्तव्यः ।

जयन्ति बाणासुरमौलिलालिता
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सुरासुराधीशशिखान्तशायिनो
भवच्छिदस्त्र्यम्बकपादपांसवः ॥

(इति विकीर्णपत्रलेखम्)



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वाणीविलसितम्

(द्वितीया भङ्गी)

(सं०) डॉ० जगन्नाथ पाठकः

गङ्गानाथझाकेन्द्रीयसंस्कृतविद्यापीठे २०३७ तमे वैक्रमाब्दे समायोजितस्य (अखिलभारतीयस्य) संस्कृतकविसम्मेलनस्य प्रसङ्गे सुकविभिः पठितानां पद्यानां संकलनमेतदाधुनिकानां संस्कृतकवीनां भङ्गीभणितीनां परिचयायालम्। एतस्या भङ्ग्याः प्रकाशनं पूर्वं प्रकाशितस्य वाणीविलसितस्य (प्रथमभङ्गीरूपस्य) क्रम एव समजनि। वैविध्यपरिलसितं सङ्कलनमिदं सचेतोभिरवश्यमेव संग्राह्यम्।

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श्री बलदेवविद्याभूषणविरचिता

साहित्यकौमुदी

स्वोपज्ञ 'कृष्णनन्दिनी' टीका संवलिता

(सं०) डॉ० ब्रह्ममित्र अवस्थी

मम्मटस्य काव्यप्रकाशगतकारिकाग्रन्थमवलम्ब्य स्वोपज्ञया टीकया स्वकीयानामन्येषाञ्च रूपगोस्वामिजीवगोस्वामि-कर्णपूरादिवैष्णवकवीनां पद्यान्युदाहरणतयोद्धृत्य श्रीबलदेवविद्याभूषणेन विरचितोऽयं ग्रन्थः प्रथमतो मुम्बईस्थनिर्णयसागरतः प्रकाशित आसीत्। आलङ्कारिकेषु ग्रन्थेषु ग्रन्थस्य महत्त्वमाकलय्य पुनः प्राकाश्यमानीतोऽयं ग्रन्थो विद्वत्परितोषाय सेत्स्यतीति नास्ति संशयः।

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भार्गवतन्त्रम्

सम्पादकः —डॉ० राघवप्रसाद चौधरी

"भार्गवतन्त्रं" पाञ्चरात्रवैष्णवागमस्य प्रमुखेषु ग्रन्थेष्वन्यतमः ग्रन्थः प्रथमतया मातृकात्रयमाधृत्य समालोचनात्मकरूपेण संपाद्य विद्यापीठेन प्रकाशितः। अत्र ग्रन्थे पाञ्चरात्रागमस्य सामान्याः विषयाः अनतिविस्तृततया स्पष्टं प्रतिपादिताः सन्ति। विस्तृतोपोद्घाते पाञ्चरात्रसंबद्धाः केचन मुख्याः विषयाः वर्तन्ते प्रतिपादिताः। गवेषणकर्मणि निरतानां विदुषां कृते उपकारकाणि कानिचन परिशिष्टानि च निवेशितानि सन्ति। वैष्णवागमक्षेत्रश्रद्धालूनां कृते अयं ग्रन्थः महते उपकाराय भवेदिति निःसंशयं वक्तुं शक्यम्।